THE

WORKS

OF THE

Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift,

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK's, DUBLIN.

ARRANGED, REVISED, AND CORRECTED,
WITH NOTES,
By THOMAS SHERIDAN, A. M.

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THE

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN.

PREFACE.

HAVING written the following Hiſtory at Windſor, in the happy reign of her majeſty queen Anne, of ever-glorious, bleſſed, and immortal memory; I reſolved to publiſh it, for the ſatisfaction of my fellow-ſubjects, in the year 1713; but, being under a neceſſity of going to Ireland, to take poſſeſſion of the deanry of St. Patrick's, Dublin, I left the original with the miniſters; and having ſtaid in that kingdom not above a fortnight, I found, at my return, that my lord treaſurer Oxford, and the ſecretary my lord Bolingbroke, who were then unhappily upon very ill terms with each other, could not agree upon publiſhing it, without ſome alterations which I would not ſubmit to. Whereupon I kept it by me until her majeſty's death, which happened about a year after.

I have ever ſince preſerved the original very ſafely; too well knowing what a turn the world would take, upon the German family's ſucceeding to the crown; which indeed was their undoubted right, having been eſtabliſhed ſolemnly by the act of an undiſputed parliament, brought into the houſe of commons by Mr. Harley, who was then ſpeaker.

But, as I have ſaid in another diſcourſe, it was very well underſtood, ſome years before her majeſty's death, how the new king would act, immediately

upon his entrance, in the choice of thoſe (and thoſe alone) whom he reſolved to truſt; and conſequently what reports would induſtriouſly be raiſed, as well as ſpread, to expoſe the proceedings of her majeſty herſelf, as well as of her ſervants; who have been ever ſince blaſted as enemies to the preſent eſtabliſhment, by the moſt ignorant and malicious among mankind.

Therefore, as it was my lot, to have been daily converſant with the perſons then in power; never abſent in times of buſineſs or converſation, until a few weeks before her majeſty's death; and a witneſs of almoſt every ſtep they made, in the courſe of their adminiſtration; I muſt have been very unfortunate, not to be better informed, than thoſe miſerable pamphleteers, or their patrons, could pretend to. At the ſame time, I freely confeſs, it appeared neceſſary, as well as natural, upon ſuch a mighty change as the death of a ſovereign, that thoſe who were to be in power upon the ſucceſſion, and reſolved to act, in every part, by a direct contrary ſyſtem of politics, ſhould load their predeceſſors, with as much infamy, as the moſt inveterate malice and envy could ſuggeſt, or the moſt ſtupid ignorance and credulity in their underlings, could ſwallow.

Therefore, as I pretend to write, with the utmoſt impartiality, the following Hiſtory of the four laſt years of her majeſty's reign, in order to undeceive prejudiced perſons at preſent, as well as poſterity; I am perſuaded in my own mind, as likewiſe by the advice of my oldeſt and wiſeſt friends,

that

that I am doing my duty to God and man, by endeavouring to ſet future ages right, in their judgment of that happy reign; and, as a faithful hiſtorian, I cannot ſuffer falſehoods to run on any longer, not only againſt all appearance of truth, as well as probability, but even againſt thoſe happy events, which owe their ſucceſs, to the very meaſures then fixed in the general peace.

The materials of this Hiſtory, beſide what I have already mentioned, I mean the confidence repoſed in me for thoſe four years, by the chief perſons in power, were extracted out of many hundred letters written by our ambaſſadors abroad, and from the anſwers, as well as inſtructions ſent them, by our ſecretaries of ſtate, or by the firſt miniſter the earl of Oxford. The former, were all originals, and the latter, copies entered into books in the ſecretaries office, out of both which I collected all that I thought convenient; not to mention ſeveral memorials given me by the miniſters at home. Farther, I was a conſtant witneſs and obſerver of all that paſſed; and entered every particular of any conſequence upon paper.

I was ſo far from having any obligation to the crown, that on the contrary, her majeſty iſſued a proclamation, offering three hundred pounds to any perſon who would diſcover the author of a certain ſhort treatiſe *, which the queen well knew to have been written by me. I never received one ſhilling from the miniſter, or any other preſent, except that

* Public Spirit of the Whigs.

of a few books; nor did I want their aſſiſtance to ſupport me. I very often dined indeed with the treaſurer and ſecretary; but, in thoſe days, that was not reckoned a bribe, whatever it may have been at any time ſince. I abſolutely refuſed to be chaplain to the lord treaſurer; becauſe I thought it would ill become me, to be in a ſtate of dependence.

I ſay this, to ſhew that I had no other bias than my own opinion of perſons and affairs. I preſerved ſeveral of the oppoſite party in their employments, who were perſons of wit and learning, particularly Mr. Addiſon and Mr. Congreve; neither of whom were ever in any danger from the treaſurer, who much eſteemed them both; and by his lordſhip's commands, I brought the latter to dine with him. Mr. Steele might have been ſafe enough, if his continually repeated indiſcretions, and a zeal mingled with ſcurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity.

I know very well the numberleſs prejudices of weak and deceived people, as well as the malice of thoſe, who, to ſerve their own intereſt or ambition, have caſt off all religion, morality, juſtice, and common decency. However, although perhaps I may not be believed in the preſent age, yet I hope to be ſo in the next, by all who will bear any regard for the honour and liberty of England, if either of theſe ſhall then ſubſiſt or not.

I have no intereſt, or inclination, to palliate the miſtakes, or omiſſions, or want of ſteadineſs, or unhappy miſunderſtandings, among a few of thoſe, who then preſided in affairs.

Nothing

Nothing is more common, than the virulence of ſuperficial and ill-informed writers, againſt the conduct of thoſe who are now called prime miniſters: and ſince factions appear at preſent, to be at a greater height, than in any former times, although perhaps not ſo equally poiſed; it may probably concern thoſe who are now in their height, if they have any regard to their own memories in future ages, to be leſs warm againſt others, who humbly differ from them in ſome ſtate opinions. Old perſons remember, at leaſt by tradition, the horrible prejudices that prevailed againſt the firſt earl of Clarendon, whoſe character, as it now ſtands, might be a pattern for all miniſters; although even biſhop Burnet of Sarum, whoſe principles, veracity, and manner of writing, are ſo little eſteemed upon many accounts, has been at the pains to vindicate him.

Upon that irreparable breach between the treaſurer and ſecretary Bolingbroke, after my utmoſt endeavours, for above two years, to reconcile them, I retired to a friend in Berkſhire; where I ſtaid until her majeſty's death; and then immediately returned to my ſtation in Dublin, where I continued about twelve years without once ſeeing England. I there often reviewed the following Memoirs; neither changing or adding, farther than by correcting the ſtyle: and if I have been guilty of any miſtakes, they muſt be of ſmall moment; for it was hardly poſſible I could be * wrong informed, with all the advantages I have already mentioned.

* It ſhould be, *wrongly* informed.

I ſhall not be very uneaſy, under the obloquy that may perhaps be caſt upon me, by the violent leaders and followers of the preſent prevailing party. And yet I cannot find the leaſt inconſiſtence with conſcience or honour, upon the death of ſo excellent a princeſs as her late majeſty, for a wiſe and good man to ſubmit, with a true and loyal heart, to her lawful Proteſtant ſucceſſor; whoſe hereditary title was confirmed by the queen and both houſes of parliament, with the greateſt unanimity; after it had been made an article in the treaty, that every prince in our alliance, ſhould be a guarantee of that ſucceſſion. Nay, I will venture to go one ſtep farther; that if the negociators of that peace, had been choſen out of the moſt profeſſed zealots, for the intereſt of the Hanover family, they could not have bound up the French king, or the Hollanders, more ſtrictly, than the queen's plenipotentiaries did, in confirming the preſent ſucceſſion; which was in them, ſo much a greater mark of virtue and loyalty, becauſe they perfectly well knew, that they ſhould never receive the leaſt mark of favour, when the ſucceſſion had taken place.

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN.

BOOK I.

I PROPOSE to give the public an account, of the moſt important affairs at home, during the laſt ſeſſion of parliament; as well as of our negociations of peace abroad, not only during that period, but ſome time before and ſince. I ſhall relate the chief matters tranſacted by both houſes in that ſeſſion; and diſcover the deſigns carried on, by the heads of a diſcontented party, not only againſt the miniſtry, but in ſome manner, againſt the crown itſelf: I likewiſe ſhall ſtate the debts of the nation; ſhew by what miſmanagement, and to ſerve what purpoſes, they were at firſt contracted; by what negligence or corruption, they have ſo prodigiouſly grown; and what methods have ſince been taken, to provide

provide not only for their payment, but to prevent the like miſchief for the time to come. Although, in an age like ours, I can expect very few impartial readers, yet I ſhall ſtrictly follow truth; or what reaſonably appeared to me to be ſuch, after the moſt impartial inquiries I could make, and the beſt opportunities of being informed, by thoſe who were the principal actors or adviſers.

Neither ſhall I mingle panegyric or ſatire, with a hiſtory intended to inform poſterity, as well as to inſtruct thoſe of the preſent age, who may be ignorant or miſled; ſince facts, truly related, are the beſt applauſes, or moſt laſting reproaches.

Diſcourſes upon ſubjects relating to the public, uſually ſeem to be calculated for London only, and ſome few miles about it; while the authors, ſuppoſe their readers to be informed of ſeveral particulars, to which thoſe that live remote, are, for the generality, utter ſtrangers. Moſt people who frequent this town, acquire a ſort of ſmattering, ſuch as it is, which qualifies them for reading a pamphlet, and finding out what is meant by innuendoes or hints at facts or perſons, and initial letters of names; wherein gentlemen at a diſtance, although perhaps of much better underſtandings, are wholly in the dark: wherefore, that theſe memoirs may be rendered more generally intelligible and uſeful, it will be convenient to give the reader, a ſhort view of the ſtate and diſpoſition of affairs, when the laſt ſeſſion of parliament began. And becauſe the party-leaders, who had loſt their power and places, were, upon that juncture, employing all their engines, in

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an attempt to re-eſtabliſh themſelves; I ſhall venture one ſtep farther, and repreſent ſo much of their characters, as may be ſuppoſed to have influenced their politics.

On the 7th day of December, 1711, began the ſecond ſeſſion of parliament. It was now above a year ſince the queen had thought fit to put the great offices of ſtate, and of her own houſehold, into other hands: however, three of the diſcontented lords were ſtill in poſſeſſion of their places; for the duke of Marlborough continued general, the duke of Somerſet maſter of the horſe, and the earl of Cholmondeley treaſurer of her majeſty's houſehold: likewiſe great numbers of the ſame party, ſtill kept employments of value and importance, which had not been uſual of late years upon any changes of miniſtry. The queen, who judged the temper of her people, by this houſe of commons, which a landed intereſt had freely choſen, found them very deſirous of a ſecure and honourable peace, and diſpoſed to leave the management of it, to her own wiſdom, and that of her council: ſhe had therefore, ſeveral months before the ſeſſion began, ſent to inform the States General, of ſome overtures which had been made her by the enemy; and during that ſummer, her majeſty took ſeveral farther ſteps in that great affair, until at length, after many difficulties, a congreſs at Utrecht, for a general peace, was agreed upon; the whole proceedings of which previous negociations, between our court and that of France, I ſhall, in its proper place, very particularly relate.

The

The nation was already upon a better foot, with reſpect to its debts: for the earl of Oxford, lord treaſurer, had, in the preceding ſeſſion, propoſed and effected ways and means, in the houſe of commons, where he was then a member, for providing a parliamentary fund, to clear the heavy arrear of ten millions (whereof the greateſt part lay upon the navy) without any new burden (at leaſt after a very few years) to the kingdom; and at the ſame time, he took care to prevent farther incumbrances upon that article, by finding ready money for naval proviſions, which has ſaved the public ſomewhat more than *cent. per cent.* in that mighty branch of our expences.

The clergy were altogether in the intereſts and the meaſures of the preſent miniſtry, which had appeared ſo boldly in their defence, during a proſecution againſt one of their members *, where the whole Sacred Order was underſtood to be concerned. The zeal ſhewn for that moſt religious bill, to ſettle a fund for building fifty new churches in and about the city of London †, was a freſh obligation; and they were farther highly gratified, by her majeſty's chuſing one of their body to be a great officer of ſtate ‡.

By this time likewiſe, all diſputes about thoſe principles, which uſed originally to divide Whig and Tory, were wholly dropped; and thoſe fantaſtical words, ought in juſtice to have been ſo too, pro-

* Sacheverel. † Which owed its origin to Dr. Swift.
‡ Dr. Robinſon, lord biſhop of Briſtol, to be lord privy ſeal.

vided

vided we could have found out more convenient names, whereby to diſtinguiſh lovers of peace, from lovers of war; or thoſe, who would leave her majeſty ſome degree of freedom, in the choice of her miniſters, from others, who could not be ſatisfied with her chuſing any, except ſuch as ſhe was moſt averſe from: but, where a nation is once divided, intereſt and animoſity will keep open the breach, without being ſupported by any other principles: or, at worſt, a body of diſcontented people can change, and take up what principles they pleaſe.

As to the diſpoſition of the oppoſite party, we all remember that the removal of the laſt miniſtry, was brought about by ſeveral degrees; through which means it happened, that they and their friends were hardly recovered out of one aſtoniſhment, before they fell into another. This ſcene laſted for ſome months, and was followed by a period of rage and deſpair, natural to thoſe, who reflect that they have loſt a ſecure game, by their own raſhneſs, folly, and want of common management; when, at the ſame time, they knew by experience, that a watchful and dextrous adverſary, lay ready to take the advantage. However, ſome time before the ſeſſion, the heads of that party began to recollect themſelves, and rally their forces, like an enemy who has been beaten out of the field, but finds he is not purſued; for although the chiefs of this faction, were thought to have but little eſteem or friendſhip for each other, yet they perfectly agreed in one general end, of diſtreſſing, by all poſſible methods, the new adminiſtration; wherein if they could ſucceed ſo far, as to put the queen under

under any great neceſſity, another parliament muſt be called, and perhaps the power devolve again into their own hands.

The iſſue and event of that grand confederacy appearing in both houſes, although under a different form, upon the very firſt day the parliament met, I cannot better begin the relation of affairs, commencing from that period, than by a thorough detection of the whole intrigue, carried on with the greateſt privacy and application; which muſt be acknowledged to have for ſeveral days diſconcerted ſome of the miniſtry, as well as diſpirited their friends; and the conſequences thereof, which have in reality been ſo very pernicious to the kingdom.

But becauſe the principal leaders in this deſign, are the ſame perſons, to whom, ſince the loſs of their power, all the oppoſition has been owing, which the court received, either in treaties abroad, or the adminiſtration at home; it may not be improper to deſcribe thoſe qualities in each of them, which few of their admirers will deny, and which appear chiefly to have influenced them, in acting their ſeveral parts upon the public ſtage; for I do not intend to draw their characters entire, which would be tedious, and little to the purpoſe; but ſhall only ſingle out thoſe paſſions, acquirements, and habits, which the owners were moſt likely to transfer into their political ſchemes, and which were moſt ſubſervient to the deſigns they ſeemed to have in view.

The lord Sommers may very deſervedly be reputed the head and oracle of that party: he has raiſed himſelf, by the concurrence of many circumſtances, to the

the greateſt employments of the ſtate, without the leaſt ſupport from birth or fortune: he has conſtantly, and with great ſteadineſs, cultivated thoſe principles, under which he grew. That accident which firſt produced him into the world, of pleading for the biſhops whom king James had ſent to the Tower, might have proved a piece of merit, as honourable, as it was fortunate; but the old republican ſpirit, which the Revolution had reſtored, began to teach other leſſons—That ſince we had accepted a new king, from a Calviniſtical commonwealth, we muſt alſo admit new maxims, in religion and government. But, ſince the nobility and gentry would probably adhere to the eſtabliſhed church, and to the rights of monarchy, as delivered down from their anceſtors; it was the practice of thoſe politicians, to introduce ſuch men, as were perfectly indifferent to any or no religion, and who were not likely to inherit much loyalty, from thoſe, to whom they owed their birth. Of this number was the perſon I am now deſcribing. I have hardly known any man, with talents more proper to acquire and preſerve, the favour of a prince; never offending in word or geſture; in the higheſt degree courteous and complaiſant; wherein he ſet an excellent example to his colleagues, which they did not think fit to follow: but this extreme civility is univerſal and undiſtinguiſhed; and in private converſation, where he obſerves it as inviolably, as if he were in the greateſt aſſembly, it is ſometimes cenſured as formal. Two reaſons are aſſigned for this behaviour: firſt, from the conſciouſneſs of his humble original, he keeps all familiarity

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at the utmoſt diſtance, which otherwiſe might be apt to intrude; the ſecond, that being ſenſible how ſubject he is to violent paſſions, he avoids all incitements to them, by teaching thoſe he converſes with, from his own example, to keep a great way within the bounds of decency and reſpect. And it is indeed true, that no man is more apt to take fire, upon the leaſt appearance of provocation; which temper he ſtrives to ſubdue, with the utmoſt violence upon himſelf: ſo that his breaſt has been ſeen to heave, and his eyes to ſparkle with rage, in thoſe very moments when his words, and the cadence of his voice, were in the humbleſt and ſofteſt manner: perhaps that force upon his nature, may cauſe that inſatiable love of revenge, which his detractors lay to his charge, who conſequently reckon diſſimulation among his chief perfections. Avarice he has none; and his ambition is gratified, by being the unconteſted head of his party. With an excellent underſtanding, adorned by all the polite parts of learning, he has very little taſte for converſation, to which he prefers the pleaſure of reading and thinking; and in the intervals of his time, amuſes himſelf with an illiterate chaplain, an humble companion, or a favourite ſervant.

Theſe are ſome few diſtinguiſhing marks in the character of that perſon, who now preſides over the diſcontented party, altho' he be not anſwerable for all their miſtakes: and if his precepts had been more ſtrictly followed, perhaps their power would not have been ſo eaſily ſhaken. I have been aſſured, and heard him profeſs, that he was againſt engaging in

that

that fooliſh proſecution of Dr. Sacheverel, as what he foreſaw was likely to end in their ruin; that he blamed the rough demeanor of ſome perſons to the queen, as a great failure in prudence; and that when it appeared her majeſty was firmly reſolved upon a treaty of peace, he adviſed his friends not to oppoſe it in its progreſs, but find fault with it after it was made; which would be a copy of the like uſage themſelves had met with, after the treaty of Ryſwick; and the ſafeſt, as well as the moſt probable way, of diſgracing the promoters and adviſers. I have been the larger in repreſenting to the reader ſome idea of this extraordinary genius, becauſe, whatever attempt has hitherto been made, with any appearance of conduct, or probability of ſucceſs, to reſtore the dominion of that party, was infallibly contrived by him; and I propheſy the ſame for the future, as long as his age and infirmities will leave him capable of buſineſs.

The duke of Marlborough's character has been ſo variouſly drawn, and is indeed of ſo mixed a nature in itſelf, that it is hard to pronounce on either ſide, without the ſuſpicion of flattery, or detraction. I ſhall ſay nothing of his military accompliſhments, which the oppoſite reports, of his friends and enemies among the ſoldiers, have rendered problematical: but if he be among thoſe who delight in war, it is agreed to be, not for the reaſons common with other generals. Thoſe maligners who deny him perſonal valour, ſeem not to conſider, that this accuſation is charged at a venture; ſince the perſon of a wiſe general is too ſeldom expoſed, to form any

judgement in the matter: and that fear, which is ſaid to have ſometimes diſconcerted him before an action, might probably be more for his army than for himſelf. He was bred in the height of what is called the Tory principle; and continued with a ſtrong bias that way, till the other party had bid higher for him, than his friends could afford to give. His want of literature, is in ſome ſort ſupplied by a good underſtanding, a degree of natural elocution, and that knowledge of the world which is learned in armies and courts. We are not to take the height of his ambition, from his ſoliciting to be general for life: I am perſuaded, his chief motive was the pay and perquiſites, by continuing the war; and that he had *then* no intentions of ſettling the crown in his family, his only ſon having been dead ſome years before. He is noted to be maſter of great temper, able to govern, or very well to diſguiſe his paſſions, which are all melted down, or extinguiſhed, in his love of wealth. That liberality which nature has denied him, with reſpect to money, he makes up by a great profuſion of promiſes: but this perfection, ſo neceſſary in courts, is not very ſucceſsful in camps among ſoldiers, who are not refined enough to underſtand or to reliſh it.

His wife the ducheſs, may juſtly challenge her place in this liſt. It is to her the duke is chiefly indebted for his greatneſs, and his fall; for above twenty years ſhe poſſeſſed, without a rival, the favours of the moſt indulgent miſtreſs in the world, nor ever miſſed one ſingle opportunity that fell in her way of improving it to her own advantage. She has

preſerved

preſerved a tolerable court-reputation, with reſpect to love and gallantry; but three Furies reigned in her breaſt, the moſt mortal enemies of all ſofter paſſions, which were, ſordid Avarice, diſdainful Pride, and ungovernable Rage; by the laſt of theſe often breaking out in ſallies of the moſt unpardonable ſort, ſhe had long alienated her ſovereign's mind, before it appeared to the world. This lady is not without ſome degree of wit, and has in her time affected the character of it, by the uſual method of arguing againſt religion, and proving the doctrines of Chriſtianity to be impoſſible and abſurd. Imagine what ſuch a ſpirit, irritated by the loſs of power, favour, and employment, is capable of acting or attempting; and then I have ſaid enough.

The next in order to be mentioned, is the earl of Godolphin. It is ſaid, he was originally intended for a trade, before his friends preferred him to be a page at court; which ſome have very unjuſtly objected as a reproach. He has riſen gradually in four reigns, and was much more conſtant to his ſecond maſter king James, than ſome others, who had received much greater obligations; for he attended the abdicated king to the ſea-ſide, and kept conſtant correſpondence with him, till the day of his death. He always profeſſed a ſort of paſſion for the queen at St. Germain's; and his letters were to her, in the ſtyle of what the French call *double-entendre*. In a mixture of love and reſpect, he uſed frequently to ſend her from hence, little preſents of thoſe things which are agreeable to ladies, for which he always aſked king William's leave, as if without her privity; be-

cauſe, if ſhe had known that circumſtance, it was to be ſuppoſed ſhe would not accept them. Phyſiognomiſts would hardly diſcover, by conſulting the aſpect of this lord, that his predominant paſſions were love and play; that he could ſometimes ſcratch out a ſong in praiſe of his miſtreſs, with a pencil and card; or that he has tears at command, like a woman, to be uſed either in an intrigue of gallantry, or politicks. His alliance with the Marlborough family, and his paſſion for the ducheſs, were the cords which dragged him into a party, whoſe principles he naturally diſliked, and whoſe leaders he perſonally hated, as they did him. He became a thorough convert, by a perfect trifle; taking fire at a nick-name * delivered by Dr. Sacheverel, with great indiſcretion, from the pulpit, which he applied to himſelf: and this is one among many inſtances given by his enemies, that magnanimity is none of his virtues.

The Earl of Sunderland is another branch of that alliance. It ſeems to have been this gentleman's fortune, to have learned his divinity, from his uncle, and his politicks, from his tutor †. It may be thought a blemiſh in his character, that he has much fallen from the height of thoſe republican principles, with which he began; for in his father's life-time, while he was a member of the houſe of commons, he would often, among his familiar friends, refuſe the title of Lord, (as he has done to myſelf) ſwear he would never be called otherwiſe than Charles Spencer, and hoped to ſee the day, when there ſhould not be a peer in England. His underſtanding, at the beſt,

* Volpone. † Dr. Trimnel, afterwards biſhop of Winton.

is of the middling ſize; * neither has he much improved it, either in reality, or, which is very unfortunate, even in the opinion of the world, by an overgrown library. It is hard to decide, whether he learned that rough way of treating his ſovereign, from the lady he is allied to †, or whether it be the reſult of his own nature. The ſenſe of the injuries he has done, renders him (as it is very natural) implacable towards thoſe, to whom he has given greateſt cauſe to complain; for which reaſon, he will never forgive either the queen, or the preſent treaſurer.

The earl of Wharton has filled the province allotted him by his colleagues, with ſufficiency equal to the ableſt of them all. He has imbibed his father's ‡ principles in government; but dropt his religion, and took up no other in its ſtead: excepting that circumſtance, he is a firm Preſbyterian. He is perfectly ſkilled in all the arts of managing at elections, as well as in large baits of pleaſure, for making converts of young men of quality, upon their firſt appearance; in which public ſervice, he contracted ſuch large debts, that his brethren were forced, out of mere juſtice, to leave Ireland at his mercy, where he had only time to ſet himſelf right. Although the graver heads of his party, think him too profligate and abandoned, yet they dare not be aſhamed of him; for, beſide his talents above mentioned, he is

* *Neither* hath he much improved it, *either* in reality, &c. The repetition of thoſe ſimilar ſounds ſo near each other offends the ear; it ſhould be—*nor* has he much improved it, *either* in reality, &c.

† His lordſhip married the ducheſs of Marlborough's ſecond daughter.

‡ The earl, his father, was a rigid Preſbyterian.

very uſeful in parliament, being a ready ſpeaker, and content to employ his gifts upon ſuch occaſions, where thoſe who conceive they have any remainder of reputation or modeſty, are aſhamed to appear. In ſhort, he is an unconteſtable inſtance to diſcover the true nature of faction; ſince, being over-run with every quality which produces contempt and hatred, in all other commerce of the world, he has notwithſtanding been able to make ſo conſiderable a figure.

The lord Cowper, although his merits are later than the reſt, deſerves a rank in this great council. He was conſiderable in the ſtation of a practiſing lawyer; but, as he was raiſed to be a chancellor, and a peer, without paſſing through any of the intermediate ſteps, which in late times had been the conſtant practice, and little ſkilled in the nature of government, or the true intereſt of princes, farther than the municipal or common law of England; his abilities, as to foreign affairs, did not equally appear in the council. Some former paſſages of his life were thought to diſqualify him for that office, by which he was to be the guardian of the queen's conſcience; but theſe difficulties were eaſily over-ruled by the authors of his promotion, who wanted a perſon that would be ſubſervient to all their deſigns; wherein they were not diſappointed. As to his other accompliſhments, he was what we uſually call *a piece of a ſcholar*, and a good logical reaſoner; if this were not too often allayed, by a fallacious way of managing an argument, which made him apt to deceive the unwary, and ſometimes to deceive himſelf.

The

The laſt to be ſpoken of in this liſt, is, the earl of Nottingham, a convert and acquiſition to that party ſince their fall, to which he contributed his aſſiſtance, I mean his words, and probably his wiſhes; for he had always lived under the conſtant viſible profeſſion, of principles directly oppoſite to thoſe of his new friends. His vehement and frequent ſpeeches, againſt admitting the prince of Orange to the throne, are yet to be ſeen; and although a numerous family, gave a ſpecious pretence to his love of power and money, for taking an employment under that monarch, yet he was allowed to have always kept a reſerve of allegiance to his exiled maſter; of which his friends produce ſeveral inſtances, and ſome, while he was ſecretary of ſtate to king William. His outward regularity of life, his appearance of religion, and ſeeming zeal for the church, as they are an effect, ſo they are the excuſe of that ſtiffneſs and formality with which his nature is fraught. His aduſt complexion diſpoſes him to rigour and ſeverity, which his admirers palliate with the name of zeal. No man had ever a ſincerer countenance, or more truly repreſenting his mind and manners. He has ſome knowledge in the law, very amply ſufficient to defend his property at leaſt. A facility of utterance, deſcended to him from his father, and improved by a few ſprinklings of literature, has brought himſelf, and ſome few admirers, into an opinion of his eloquence. He is every way inferior to his brother Guernſey, but chiefly in thoſe talents which he moſt values and pretends to; over whom, nevertheleſs, he preſerves an aſcendant. His great

ambition was, to be the head of thoſe who were called the church-party; and indeed, grave ſolemn deportment and countenance, ſeconded by abundance of profeſſions for their ſervice, had given many of them an opinion of his veracity, which he interpreted as their ſenſe of his judgement and wiſdom; and this miſtake laſted till the time of his defection, of which it was partly the cauſe: but then it plainly appeared, that he had not credit to bring over one ſingle proſelyte, to keep himſelf in countenance.

Theſe lineaments, however imperfectly drawn, may help the reader's imagination to conceive what ſort of perſons thoſe were, who had the boldneſs to encounter the queen and miniſtry, at the head of a great majority of the landed intereſt; and this upon a point, where the quiet of her majeſty's reign, the ſecurity, or at leaſt the freedom, of her perſon, the lives of her moſt faithful friends, and the ſettling of the nation by a peace, were, in the conſequences, deeply concerned.

During the dominion of the late men in power, addreſſes had been procured from both houſes to the queen, repreſenting their opinion, that no peace could be ſecure for Britain, while Spain or the Weſt-Indies remained in the poſſeſſion of the Bourbon family. But her majeſty, having, for reaſons which have been often told to the world, and which will not ſoon be forgotten, called a new parliament, and choſen a new ſet of ſervants, began to view things and perſons in another light. She conſidered the neceſſities of her people; the diſtant proſpect of a peace upon ſuch an improbable condition, which

was

was never mentioned or underſtood in the grand alliance; the unequal burden ſhe bore in the war, by the practices of the allies upon the corruption of ſome, whom ſhe moſt truſted, or perhaps by the practices of theſe upon the allies; and laſtly, by the changes which death had brought about in the Auſtrian and Bourbon families. Upon all which motives, ſhe was prevailed upon to receive ſome overtures from France, in behalf of herſelf and the whole confederacy. The ſeveral ſteps of this negociation, from its firſt riſe to the time I am now writing, ſhall be related in another part of this Hiſtory. Let it ſuffice for the preſent to ſay, that ſuch propoſals were received from France, as were thought ſufficient by our court, whereupon to appoint time and place for a general treaty; and ſoon after the opening of the ſeſſion, the biſhop of Briſtol *, lord privy-ſeal, was diſpatched to Utrecht, where he and the earl of Strafford, were appointed plenipotentiaries for the queen of Great-Britain.

The managers of the diſcontented party, who, during the whole ſummer, had obſerved the motions of the court running faſt towards a peace, began to gather up all their forces, in order to oppoſe her majeſty's deſigns, when the parliament ſhould meet. Their only ſtrength was in the houſe of lords, where the queen had a very crazy majority, made up by thoſe whoſe hearts were in the other intereſt; but whoſe fears, expectations, or immediate dependance, had hitherto kept them within bounds. There were

* Dr. Robinſon, afterwards biſhop of London.

two lords, upon whoſe abilities and influence, of a very different nature, the managers built their ſtrongeſt hopes. The firſt was the duke of Somerſet, maſter of the horſe. This duke, as well as his ducheſs, was in a good degree of favour with the queen, upon the ſcore of ſome civilities and reſpects, her majeſty had received from them, while ſhe was princeſs. For ſome years after the Revolution, he never appeared at court, but was looked upon as a favourer of the abdicated family; and it was the late earl of Rocheſter who firſt preſented him to king William. However, ſince the time he came into employment, which was towards the cloſe of the laſt reign, he has been a conſtant zealous member of the other party: but never failed either in attendance or reſpect towards the queen's perſon; or, at moſt, only threatened ſometimes, that he would ſerve no longer, while ſuch or ſuch men were employed; which, as things went then, was not reckoned any offence at all againſt duty, or good behaviour. He had been much careſſed and flattered by the lords of the Junto, who ſometimes went ſo far as to give him hopes of the crown, in reverſion to his family, upon failure of the houſe of Hanover. All this worked ſo far upon his imagination, that he affected to appear the head of their party, to which his talents were no way proportioned; for they ſoon grew weary of his indigeſted ſchemes, and his imperious manner of obtruding them: they began to drop him at their meetings, or contradicted him with little ceremony, when he happened to be there, which his haughty nature was not able to brook. Thus a mortal quarrel was

kindled

kindled between him, and the whole aſſembly of party-leaders; ſo that upon the queen's firſt intentions of changing her miniſtry, ſoon after the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, he appointed ſeveral meetings with Mr. Harley alone, in the moſt private manner, in places and at times leaſt liable to ſuſpicion. He employed all his credit with the queen, to drive on the removal of my lord Godolphin, and the reſt; and in the council, treated the ſmall remainder, who continued ſome time longer in their places, with all poſſible marks of hatred or diſdain. But, when the queſtion came for diſſolving the parliament, he ſtopt ſhort; he had already ſatiated his reſentments, which were not againſt things, but perſons: he furiouſly oppoſed that counſel, and promiſed to undertake for the parliament himſelf. When the queen had declared her pleaſure for the diſſolution, he flew off in greater rage than ever; oppoſed the court in all elections, where he had influence or power; and made very humble advances to reconcile himſelf with the diſcarded lords, eſpecially the earl of Godolphin, who is reported to have treated him at Newmarket in a moſt contemptuous manner. But the ſincerity of his repentance, which appeared manifeſtly in the firſt ſeſſion of the new parliament, and the uſe he might be of by his own remaining credit, or rather that of his ducheſs, with the queen, at length begat a reconcilement. He ſtill kept his employment, and place in the cabinet-council; but had never appeared there, from an avowed diſlike of all perſons and proceedings. It happened, about the end of ſummer, 1711, at Windſor, when the cabinet-council was ſummoned,

ſummoned, this duke, whether by direction from his teachers, or the inſtability of his nature, took a fancy to reſume his place, and a chair was brought accordingly; upon which, Mr. ſecretary St. John refuſed to aſſiſt, and gave his reaſons, "that he would never ſit in council with a man, "who had ſo often betrayed them, and was openly "engaged with a faction, which endeavoured to "obſtruct all her majeſty's meaſures."

Thus the council was put off to next day, and the duke made no farther attempts to be there. But, upon this incident, he declared open war againſt the miniſtry; and, from that time to the ſeſſion, employed himſelf in ſpiriting up ſeveral depending lords, to adhere to their friends, when an occaſion ſhould offer. The arguments he made uſe of were, "That "thoſe in power deſigned to make an ignominious "and unſecure peace, without conſulting the allies: "That this could be no otherwiſe prevented, than "by an addreſs from the lords, to ſignify their opi-"nion, that no peace could be honourable or ſe-"cure, while Spain or the Weſt Indies remained "in any of the Bourbon family; upon which, ſe-"veral farther reſolutions and inquiries would na-"turally follow: That the differences between the "two houſes, upon this point, muſt either be made "up by the commons agreeing with the lords, or "muſt end in a diſſolution, which would be follow-"ed by a return of the old miniſtry; who, by the "force of money and management, could eaſily "get another parliament to their wiſhes." He farther aſſured them boldly, "That the queen herſelf

"was

" was at the bottom of this deſign, and had em-
" powered him to deſire their votes againſt the peace,
" as a point that would be for her ſervice; and
" therefore they need not be in pain upon ac-
" count of their penſions, or any farther marks of
" favour they expected." Thus, by reviving the old art, of uſing her majeſty's authority againſt her perſon, he prevailed over ſome, who were not otherwiſe in a ſtation of life to oppoſe the crown; and his proſelytes may pretend to ſome ſhare of pity, ſince he offered for an argument his own example, who kept his place and favour, after all he had done to deſerve the loſs of both.

The other lord, in whom the diſcontented managers placed much of their hopes, was the earl of Nottingham, already mentioned; than whom no man ever appeared to hate them more, or to be more pleaſed at their fall; partly, from his avowed principles, but chiefly, from the hopes he had of ſharing in their ſpoils. But it fell out, that he was no way acceptable to the queen, or her new ſervants: theſe apprehended no little trouble and impediment to the public buſineſs, from his reſtleſs, talkative, overweening manner, if once he was ſuffered to have any part in affairs; and he ſtood very ill with the court, having made a motion in the houſe of lords, and in her majeſty's preſence, " That
" the electoral prince of Hanover might be invited
" to reſide in England;" although he had before declared to the queen, how much he was againſt that propoſal, when it was firſt offered by the other party. However, ſome very conſiderable employ-

ments

ments had been given to his neareſt relations; and he had one or two offers for himſelf, which he thought fit to refuſe, as not equal to his merits and character. Upon the earl of Rocheſter's deceaſe, he conceived that the crown would hardly overlook him for preſident of the council, and deeply reſented that diſappointment. But the duke of Newcaſtle, lord privy-ſeal, dying ſome time after, he found that office was firſt deſigned for the earl of Jerſey, and, upon this lord's ſudden death, was actually diſpoſed of to the biſhop of Briſtol: by which he plainly ſaw, that the queen was determined againſt giving him any opportunity of directing in affairs, or diſplaying his eloquence in the cabinet-council. He had now ſhaken off all remains of patience or temper; and, from the contemplation of his own diſappointments, fell, as it is natural, to find fault with the public management, and to aſſure his neighbours in the country, "that the nation was "in imminent danger of being ruined." The diſcontented lords were ſoon appriſed of this great change; and the duke of Roxborough, the earl's ſon-in-law, was diſpatched to Burleigh on the Hill, to cultivate his preſent diſpoſitions, and offer him whatever terms he pleaſed to inſiſt on. The earl immediately agreed to fall in with any meaſures, for diſtreſſing or deſtroying the miniſtry: but, in order to preſerve his reputation with the church party, and perhaps bring them over to his intereſts, he propoſed that a bill ſhould be brought into the houſe of lords, for preventing occaſional conformity, and be unanimouſly agreed to by all the peers of the low-

church

church principle; which would convince the world of their good intentions to the eſtabliſhed religion, and that their oppoſitions to the court, wholly proceeded from their care of the nation, and concern for its honour and ſafety.

Theſe preparations were public enough, and the miniſters had ſufficient time to arm themſelves; but they ſeem to have acted, in this juncture, like men who truſted to the goodneſs of their cauſe, and the general inclinations of the kingdom, rather than to thoſe arts, which our corruptions have too often made neceſſary. Calculations were indeed taken, by which it was computed, that there would be a majority of ten upon the ſide of the court: I remember to have told my lord Harcourt and Mr. Prior, that a majority of ten was only a majority of five, becauſe, if their adverſaries could bring off five, the number would be equal: and ſo it happened to prove; for the miſtake lay, in counting upon the bare promiſes of thoſe, who were wholly in the intereſt of the old miniſtry, and were only kept in awe, by the fear of offending the crown, and loſing their ſubſiſtence; wherein the duke of Somerſet had given them full ſatisfaction.

With theſe diſpoſitions of both parties, and fears and hopes of the event, the parliament met upon the 7th of December, 1711. The queen's ſpeech (excepting what related to ſupplies) was chiefly taken up, in telling both houſes, what progreſs ſhe had made towards a general peace, and her hopes of bringing it to a ſpeedy concluſion. As ſoon as her

majeſty was withdrawn, the houſe of lords, in a committee, reſolved upon an addreſs of thanks; to which the earl of Nottingham propoſed an addition of the following clauſe:

" And we do beg leave to repreſent it to your " majeſty, as the humble opinion and advice of this " houſe, that no peace can be ſafe or honourable " to Great Britain and Europe, if Spain and the " Weſt Indies are to be allotted to any branch of the " houſe of Bourbon."

He was ſeconded by the earl of Scarborough; and, after a debate of ſeveral hours, the queſtion for the clauſe was carried, as I remember, by not above two voices. The next day, the houſe agreed with the committee. The depending lords (having taken freſh courage from their principals, and ſome who profeſſed themſelves very humble ſervants to the preſent miniſtry, and enemies to the former) went along with the ſtream, pretending not to ſee the conſequences that muſt viſibly follow. The addreſs was preſented on the eleventh; to which her majeſty's anſwer was ſhort and dry. She diſtinguiſhed their thanks from the reſt of the piece; and, in return to lord Nottingham's clauſe, ſaid, " She ſhould " be ſorry that any body could think ſhe would not " do her utmoſt to recover Spain and the Weſt " Indies from the houſe of Bourbon."

Upon the 15th of December, the earl of Nottingham likewiſe brought in the bill to prevent occaſional conformity, (although under a diſguiſed title) which met with no oppoſition; but was ſwallowed

ſwallowed by thoſe very lords, who always appeared with the utmoſt violence, againſt the leaſt advantage to the eſtabliſhed church.

But in the houſe of commons there appeared a very different ſpirit; for, when one Mr. Robert Walpole, offered a clauſe of the ſame nature with that of the earl of Nottingham, it was rejected with contempt by a very great majority. Their addreſs was in the moſt dutiful manner, approving of what her majeſty had done towards a peace, and truſting entirely to her wiſdom, in the future management of it. This addreſs was preſented to the queen a day before that of the lords, and received an anſwer diſtinguiſhedly gracious. But the other party was nowiſe diſcouraged by either anſwer; which they looked upon as only matter of courſe, and the ſenſe of the miniſtry, contrary to that of the queen.

The parliament ſat as long as the approaching feſtival would allow; and upon the 22d, the land tax and occaſional bills having received the royal aſſent, the houſe of commons adjourned to the 14th of January following: but the adjournment of the lords was only to the 2d, the prevailing party there, being in haſte to purſue the conſequences of the earl of Nottingham's clauſe, which they hoped would end in the ruin of the treaſurer, and overthrow the miniſtry; and therefore took the advantage of this interval, that they might not be diſturbed by the commons.

When this addreſs againſt any peace without Spain, &c. was carried in the houſe of lords, it

is not eaſy to deſcribe the effects it had upon moſt mens paſſions. The partiſans of the old miniſtry triumphed loudly, and without any reſerve, as if the game were their own. The earl of Wharton was obſerved in the houſe to ſmile, and put his hands to his neck, when any of the miniſtry were ſpeaking, by which he would have it underſtood that ſome heads were in danger. Parker, the chief-juſtice, began already, with great zeal and officiouſneſs, to proſecute authors and printers of weekly and other papers, writ in defence of the adminiſtration: in ſhort, joy and vengeance ſat viſible in every countenance of that party.

On the other ſide, all well-wiſhers to the queen, the church, or the peace, were equally dejected; and the treaſurer ſtood the foremoſt mark, both of his enemies fury, and the cenſure of his friends: among the latter, ſome imputed this fatal miſcarriage, to his procraſtinating nature; others, to his unmeaſurable public thrift. Both parties agreed, that a firſt miniſter, with very moderate ſkill in affairs, might eaſily have governed the event: and ſome began to doubt, whether the great fame of his abilities, acquired in other ſtations, were what he juſtly deſerved. All this he knew well enough, and heard it with great phlegm; neither did it make any alteration in his countenance or humour. He told Monſieur Buys, the Dutch envoy, two days before the parliament ſat, "That he was "ſorry for what was likely to paſs, becauſe the "States would be the firſt ſufferers; which he "deſired the envoy to remember." And to his

neareſt friends, who appeared in pain about the public or themſelves, he only ſaid, "That all "would be well;" and deſired them not to be frighted.

It was, I conceive, upon theſe motives, that the treaſurer adviſed her majeſty to create twelve new lords, and thereby diſable the ſting of faction for the reſt of her life-time. This promotion was ſo ordered, that a third part, were of thoſe, on whom, or their poſterity, the peerage would naturally devolve; and the reſt were ſuch, whoſe merit, birth, and fortune, could admit of no exception.

The adverſe party, being thus driven down by open force, had nothing left but to complain, which they loudly did:—"That it was a perni- "cious example ſet for ill princes to follow, who, "by the ſame rule, might make at any time a "hundred as well as twelve, and by theſe means "become maſters of the houſe of lords whenever "they pleaſed; which would be dangerous to our "liberties." To this it was anſwered, "That ill "princes ſeldom trouble themſelves to look for "precedents; that men of great eſtates will not be "leſs fond of preſerving their liberties, when they "are created peers; that in ſuch a government as "this, where the prince holds the balance between "two great powers, the nobility and people, it is "the very nature of his office to remove from one "ſcale into the other, or ſometimes put his own "weight in the lighteſt, ſo as to bring both to

" an equilibrium; and laſtly, that the other party, " had been above twenty years, corrupting the " nobility, with republican principles, which no- " thing but the royal prerogative could hinder " from overſpreading us."

The conformity-bill above-mentioned was prepared by the earl of Nottingham, before the parliament met, and brought in at the ſame time with the clauſe againſt peace, according to the bargain made between him and his new friends. This, he hoped, would not only ſave his credit with the church-party, but bring them over to his politics; ſince they muſt needs be convinced, that inſtead of changing his own principles, he had prevailed on the greateſt enemies to the eſtabliſhed religion, to be the firſt movers in a law for the perpetual ſettlement of it. Here it was worth obſerving, with what reſignation the Junto Lords (as they were then called) were ſubmitted to, by their adherents and followers: for it is well known, that the chief among the diſſenting teachers in town, were conſulted upon this affair; and ſuch arguments uſed, as had power to convince them, that nothing could be of greater advantage to their cauſe, than the paſſing of this bill. I did indeed ſee a letter at that time from one of them, to a great man, complaining, " That they were betrayed " and undone by their pretended friends;" but they were in general very well ſatisfied, upon promiſes that this law ſhould ſoon be repealed, and others more in their favour enacted, as ſoon as their friends ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed.

But

But nothing ſeemed more extraordinary, than the event of this refined management, by which the earl of Nottingham was ſo far from bringing over proſelytes, (wherein his abilities fell very ſhort even of the duke of Somerſet's) or preſerving the reputation of a firm churchman, that very few people did ſo much as imagine he had any ſuch deſign; only, when he brought in the bill, they conceived it was ſome wonderful deep reach of politics, which they could not comprehend: however, they liked the thing; and without troubling themſelves about the perſons or motives from whence it roſe, it had a very ſpeedy paſſage through both houſes. It muſt be confeſſed, that ſome attempt of this nature was much more neceſſary to the leaders of that party, than is generally thought. The deſire of power and revenge was common to them all; but ſeveral among them were alſo conſcious that they ſtood in need of protection; whoſe ſafety was therefore concerned in the deſign of ruining the miniſtry, as well as their ambition. The duke of Marlborough foreſaw thoſe examinations, which were afterwards made into ſome parts of his management, and was apprehenſive of a great deal more; that the parliament would perhaps enquire into the particulars of the negociation at the Hague, 1709; for what ends, and by whoſe advice, the propoſitions of peace from France were rejected. Beſides, he dreaded leſt that myſterious policy might be laid open to the world, of deſiring the queen to conſtitute him General for life, which was a very ten-

der point, and would admit of much proof. It is true, indeed, that while the duke's affair was under the conſideration of the houſe of commons, one of his creatures * (whether by direction or otherwiſe) aſſured the ſpeaker, with a very ſerious countenance, "that the world was miſtaken, in cenſuring his lord upon this article; for it was the queen who preſſed the duke to accept that commiſſion; and upon his humble refuſal conceived her firſt diſpleaſure againſt him." How ſuch a defence would have paſſed, if it had been offered in form, is eaſier to be conceived, than how any perſon in his wits could have the confidence to affirm it; which laſt it would indeed be hard to believe, if there were any room left for doubt.

The earl of Godolphin wanted protection, notwithſtanding the act of general pardon, which had been procured by his credit, and was principally calculated for his own ſecurity. He knew that his long neglect of compelling the accomptants to paſs their accompts, might be puniſhed as a breach of truſt. He had run the kingdom into immenſe debts, by taking up ſtores for the navy upon a vaſt diſcount, without parliamentary ſecurity; for which he could be able to plead neither law nor neceſſity: and he had given way at leaſt, to ſome proceedings, not very juſtifiable, in relation to remittances of money, whereby the public had ſuffered conſiderable loſſes. The barrier-treaty ſate heavy upon the lord Townſhend's ſpirits, be-

* Mr. Craggs, father to the ſecretary.

cauſe

cauſe, if it ſhould be laid before the houſe of commons, whoever negociated that affair, might be ſubject to the moſt ſevere animadverſions: and the earl of Wharton's adminiſtration in Ireland, was looked upon as a ſufficient ground to impeach him, at leaſt, for high crimes and miſdemeanors.

The managers in Holland were ſufficiently apprized of all this; and Monſieur Buys, their miniſter here, took care to cultivate that good correſpondence between his maſters, and their Engliſh friends, which became two confederates purſuing the ſame end.

This man had been formerly employed in England from that republic, and underſtood a little of our language. His proficiency in learning has been ſuch, as to furniſh now and then a Latin quotation, of which he is as liberal as his ſtock will admit. His knowledge in government, reaches no farther than that of his own country, by which he forms and cultivates matters of ſtate for the reſt of the world. His reaſonings upon politics, are with great profuſion at all meetings; and he leaves the company with entire ſatisfaction, that he has fully convinced them. He is well provided with that inferior ſort of cunning, which is the growth of his country, of a ſtandard with the genius of the people, and capable of being transferred into every condition of life among them, from the boor to the burgomaſter. He came into England with inſtructions, authorizing him to accommodate all differences, between her majeſty and the States; but, having firſt adviſed with the confederate lords,

he aſſured the miniſtry, " He had powers to hear " their propoſals, but none to conclude:" and having repreſented to his maſters what had been told him by the adverſe party, he prevailed with them to revoke his powers. He found the intereſt of thoſe who withſtood the court, would exactly fall in with the deſigns of the States; which were, to carry on the war as they could, at our expence; and to ſee themſelves at the head of a treaty of peace, whenever they were diſpoſed to apply to France, or to receive overtures from thence.

The emperor, upon many powerful reaſons, was utterly averſe from all counſels which aimed at putting an end to the war, without delivering him the whole dominion of Spain. Nay, the elector of Hanover himſelf, although preſumptive heir to the crown of England, and obliged by all ſorts of ties to cultivate her majeſty's friendſhip, was ſo far deceived by miſrepreſentations from hence, that he ſeemed to ſuffer monſieur Bothmar, his envoy here, to print and publiſh a memorial in Engliſh, directly diſapproving all her majeſty's proceedings; which memorial, as appears by the ſtyle and manner of it, was all drawn up, or at leaſt digeſted, by ſome party-pen on this ſide of the water.

Cautious writers, in order to avoid offence or danger, and to preſerve the reſpect ever due to foreign princes, do uſually charge the wrong ſteps in a court, altogether upon the perſons employed. But I ſhould have taken a ſecurer method, and have

have been wholly ſilent in this point, if I had not then conceived ſome hope, that his electoral highneſs, might poſſibly have been a ſtranger to the memorial of his reſident: for, firſt, the manner of delivering it to the ſecretary of ſtate, was out of all form, and almoſt as extraordinary as the thing itſelf. Monſieur Bothmar, having obtained an hour of Mr. ſecretary St. John, talked much to him upon the ſubject of which that memorial conſiſts; and upon going away, deſired he might leave a paper with the ſecretary, which, he ſaid, contained the ſubſtance of what he had been diſcourſing. This paper Mr. St. John laid aſide, among others of little conſequence; and a few days after, ſaw a memorial in print, which he found, upon comparing, to be the ſame with what Bothmar had left.

During this ſhort receſs of parliament, and upon the 5th day of January, prince Eugene of Savoy landed in England. Before he left his ſhip, he aſked a perſon who came to meet him, "Whether "the new lords were made, and what was their "number?" He was attended through the ſtreets with a mighty rabble of people, to St. James's; where Mr. ſecretary St. John introduced him to the queen, who received him with great civility. His arrival had been long expected; and the project of his journey, had as long been formed here, by the party-leaders, in concert with Monſieur Buys and Monſieur Bothmar, the Dutch and Hanover envoys. This prince brought over credentials from the emperor, with offers to continue the war on a new foot, very advantageous to Britain; part

of

of which, by her majeſty's commands, Mr. St. John ſoon after produced to the houſe of commons; where they were rejected, not without ſome indignation, by a great majority. The emperor's propoſals, as far as they related to Spain, were communicated to the houſe in the words following:

" His imperial majeſty judges that forty thou-
" ſand men will be ſufficient for this ſervice; and
" that the whole expence of the war in Spain may
" amount to four millions of crowns; towards
" which, his imperial majeſty offers to make up the
" troops which he has in that country to thirty
" thouſand men, and to take one million of crowns
" upon himſelf."

On the other ſide, the houſe of commons voted a third part of thoſe four millions as a ſufficient quota for her majeſty toward that ſervice: for it was ſuppoſed the emperor ought to bear the greateſt proportion, in a point that ſo nearly concerned him: or at leaſt, that Britain contributing one third, the other two might be paid byh is imperial majeſty, and the States, as they could ſettle it between them.

The deſign of prince Eugene's journey was, to raiſe a ſpirit in the parliament and people for continuing the war; for nothing was thought impoſſible to a prince of ſuch high reputation in arms, in great favour with the emperor, and empowered to make ſuch propoſals from his maſter, as the miniſtry durſt not reject. It appeared by an intercepted letter from count Gallas, (formerly the emperor's envoy here) that the prince was wholly left

to

to his liberty, of making what offers he pleaſed in the emperor's name; for, if the parliament could once be brought to raiſe funds, and the war go on, the miniſtry here muſt be under a neceſſity of applying, and expending thoſe funds; and the emperor could find afterwards twenty reaſons and excuſes, as he had hitherto done, for not furniſhing his quota. Therefore prince Eugene, for ſome time, kept himſelf within generals; until, being preſſed to explain himſelf upon that particular of the war in Spain, which the houſe of Auſtria pretended to have moſt at heart, he made the offer above-mentioned, as a moſt extraordinary effort; and ſo it was, conſidering how little they had ever done before, towards recovering that monarchy to themſelves: but, ſhameful as theſe propoſals were, few believed the emperor would obſerve them; or, indeed, that he ever intended to ſpare ſo many men, as would make up an army of thirty thouſand men to be employed in Spain.

Prince Eugene's viſit to his friends in England, continued longer than was expected. He was every day entertained magnificently, by perſons of quality of both parties. He went frequently to the treaſurer, and ſometimes affected to do it in private. He viſited the other miniſters, and great officers of the court: but on all occaſions, publicly owned the character and appellation of a Whig; and, in ſecret, held continual meetings with the duke of Marlborough, and the other diſcontented lords, where M. Bothmar uſually aſſiſted. It is the great ambition of this prince, to be perpetually engaged

engaged in war, without conſidering the cauſe or conſequence; and to ſee himſelf at the head of an army, where only he can make any conſiderable figure. He is not without a natural tincture of that cruelty, ſometimes charged upon the Italians; and his being nurſed in arms, has ſo far extinguiſhed pity and remorſe, that he will at any time ſacrifice a thouſand mens lives, to a caprice of glory or revenge. He had conceived an incurable hatred for the treaſurer, as the perſon who principally oppoſed this inſatiable paſſion for war; ſaid, "He had hopes of others; but that the treaſurer "was *un mechant diable*, not to be moved." Therefore, ſince it was impoſſible for him or his friends to compaſs their deſigns, while that miniſter continued at the head of affairs, he propoſed an expedient, often practiſed by thoſe of his country, "That the treaſurer (to uſe his own expreſſion) "ſhould be taken off *à la negligence*; that this "might be eaſily done, and paſs for an effect of "chance, if it were preceded by encouraging ſome "proper people, to commit ſmall riots in the "night." And in ſeveral parts of the town, a crew of obſcure ruffians were accordingly employed about that time, who probably exceeded their commiſſion; and, mixing themſelves with thoſe diſorderly people, that often infeſt the ſtreets at midnight, acted inhuman outrages on many perſons, whom they cut and mangled in the face and arms, and other parts of the body, without any provocation. But an effectual ſtop was ſoon put to thoſe enormities,

enormities, which probably prevented the execution of the main deſign.

I am very ſenſible that ſuch an imputation, ought not to be charged upon any perſon whatſoever, upon ſlight grounds, or doubtful ſurmiſes; and that thoſe who think I am able to produce no better, will judge this paſſage to be fitter for a libel than a hiſtory. But, as the account was given by more than one perſon, who was at the meeting, ſo it was confirmed, paſt all contradiction, by ſeveral intercepted letters and papers: and it is moſt certain, that the rage of the defeated party, upon their frequent diſappointments, was ſo far inflamed, as to make them capable of ſome counſels, yet more violent and deſperate than this; which, however, by the vigilance of thoſe near the perſon of her majeſty, were happily prevented.

On the 30th day of December, 1711, the duke of Marlborough was removed from all his employments: the duke of Ormond ſucceeding him as general, both here and in Flanders. This proceeding of the court (as far as it related to the duke of Marlborough) was much cenſured both at home and abroad, and by ſome, who did not wiſh ill to the preſent ſituation of affairs. There were few examples of a commander * being diſgraced, after an uninterrupted courſe of ſucceſs, for many years, againſt a formidable enemy, and this before a period was put to the war. Thoſe who had leaſt eſteem for his valour and conduct, thought it not prudent to remove a general, whoſe troops were

* It ſhould be, of a commander's being diſgraced, &c.

perpetually

perpetually victorious while he was at their head; becauſe this had infuſed into his ſoldiers, an opinion that they ſhould always conquer, and into the enemy, that they ſhould always be beaten; than which nothing is to be held of greater moment, either in the progreſs of a war, or upon the day of battle: and I have good grounds to affirm, that theſe reaſons had ſufficient weight with the queen and miniſtry, to have kept the duke of Marlborough in his poſt, if a way could have been found out, to have done it with any aſſurance of ſafety to the nation. It is the misfortune of princes, that the effects of their diſpleaſure, make uſually much more noiſe, than the cauſes. Thus, the ſound of the duke's fall, was heard farther than many of the reaſons which made it neceſſary; whereof, though ſome were viſible enough, yet others lay more in the dark. Upon the duke's laſt return from Flanders, he had fixed his arrival * to town (whether by accident or otherwiſe) upon the 17th of November, called Queen Elizabeth's day; when great numbers of his creatures and admirers, had thought fit to revive an old ceremony among the rabble, of burning the pope in effigy; for the performance of which with more ſolemnity, they had made extraordinary preparations. From the ſeveral circumſtances of the expence of this intended pageantry, and of the perſons who promoted it; the court, apprehenſive of a deſign to inflame the common people, thought fit to order, that the ſeveral figures ſhould be ſeized as popiſh trinkets; and guards

* Arrival *to* a place, is not Engliſh: it ſhould be arrival *at*.

were

were ordered to patrole, for preventing any tumultuous aſſemblies. Whether this frolick were only intended for an affront to the court, or whether it had a deeper meaning, I muſt leave undetermined. The duke, in his own nature, is not much turned to be popular; and in his flouriſhing times, whenever he came back to England upon the cloſe of a campaign, he rather affected to avoid any concourſe of the *mobile*, if they had been diſpoſed to attend him: therefore, ſo very contrary a proceeding at this juncture, made it ſuſpected as if he had a deſign to have placed himſelf at their head. "France," "Popery," "The Pretender," "Peace "without Spain," were the words to be given about at this mock-parade; and if what was confidently aſſerted be true, that a report was to have been ſpread at the ſame time of the queen's death, no man can tell what might have been the event.

But this attempt, to whatever purpoſes intended, proving wholly abortive, by the vigilance of thoſe in power, the duke's arrival was without any noiſe or conſequence; and upon conſulting with his friends, he ſoon fell in with their new ſcheme for preventing the peace. It was believed by many perſons, that the miniſters might with little difficulty have brought him over, if they had pleaſed to make a trial; for, as he would probably have accepted any terms, to continue in a ſtation of ſuch prodigious profit, ſo there was ſufficient room to work upon his fears, of which he is ſeldom unprovided (I mean only in his political capacity) and this infirmity very much increaſed by his unmeaſurable

ſurable poſſeſſions, which have rendered him, *ipſique onerique timentem.* But reaſon, as well as the event, proved this to be a miſtake: for the miniſters, being determined to bring the war to as ſpeedy an iſſue, as the honour and ſafety of their country would permit, could not poſſibly recompenſe the duke, for the mighty incomes he held by the continuance of it. Then, the other party had calculated their numbers; and by the acceſſion of the earl of Nottingham, whoſe example they hoped would have many followers, and the ſucceſsful ſolicitations of the duke of Somerſet, found they were ſure of a majority in the houſe of lords: ſo that, in this view of circumſtances, the duke of Marlborough thought he acted with ſecurity, as well as advantage. He therefore boldly fell, with his whole weight, into the deſign of ruining the miniſtry, at the expence of his duty to his ſovereign, and the welfare of his country, after the mighty obligations he had received from both. WHIG and TORY were now no longer the diſpute; but THE QUEEN, or THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH. He was at the head of all the cabals and conſults with Bothmar, Buys, and the diſcontented lords. He forgot that government of his paſſion, for which his admirers uſed to celebrate him; fell into all the impotences of anger and violence, upon every party-debate: ſo that the queen found herſelf under a neceſſity, either, on the one ſide, to ſacrifice thoſe friends, who had ventured their lives, in reſcuing her out of the power of ſome, whoſe former treatment ſhe had little reaſon to be fond of;

to

to put an end to the progreſs ſhe had made towards a peace, and diſſolve her parliament; or, on the other ſide, by removing one perſon from ſo great a truſt, to get clear of all her difficulties at once. Her majeſty therefore determined upon the latter, as the ſhorter and ſafer courſe; and, during the receſs at Chriſtmas, ſent the duke a letter, to tell him ſhe had no farther occaſion for his ſervice.

There has not perhaps in the preſent age, been a clearer inſtance, to ſhew the inſtability of greatneſs, which is not founded upon virtue; and it may be an inſtruction to princes, who are well in the hearts of their people, that the overgrown power of any particular perſon, although ſupported by exorbitant wealth, can, by a little reſolution, be reduced in a moment, without any dangerous conſequences. This lord, who was beyond all compariſon the greateſt ſubject in Chriſtendom, found his power, credit, and influence, crumble away on a ſudden; and except a few friends or followers by inclination, the reſt dropt off in courſe. From directing in ſome manner the affairs of Europe, he deſcended to be a member of a faction, and with little diſtinction even there: that virtue of ſubduing his reſentments, for which he was ſo famed when he had little or no occaſion to exert it, having now wholly forſaken him, when he ſtood moſt in need of its aſſiſtance; and, upon trial, was found unable to bear a reverſe of fortune, giving way to rage, impatience, envy, and diſcontent.

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN.

BOOK II.

THE houſe of lords met upon the 2d day of January, according to their adjournment; but, before they could proceed to buſineſs, the twelve new-created peers were, in the uſual form, admitted to their ſeats in that aſſembly; who, by their numbers, turned the balance on the ſide of the court, and voted an adjournment to the ſame day with the commons. Upon the 14th of January, the two houſes met; but the queen, who intended to be there in perſon, ſent a meſſage, to inform them, "That ſhe was prevented by a ſud-"den return of the gout; and to deſire they would "adjourn for three days longer, when her majeſty "hoped ſhe ſhould be able to ſpeak to them."

However, her indiſpoſition ſtill continuing, Mr. ſecretary St. John brought another meſſage to the houſe of commons from the queen, containing the ſubſtance of what ſhe intended to have ſpoken: "That ſhe could now tell them, her plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utrecht; had begun, in purſuance of her inſtructions, to concert the moſt proper ways of procuring a juſt ſatisfaction to all powers in alliance with her, according to their ſeveral treaties, and particularly with relation to Spain and the Weſt Indies: That ſhe promiſed to communicate to them the conditions of peace, before the ſame ſhould be concluded: That the world would now ſee how groundleſs thoſe reports were, and without the leaſt colour, that a ſeparate peace had been treated: That her miniſters were directed to propoſe, that a day might be fixed for the finiſhing, as was done, for the commencement, of this treaty; and that in the mean time, all preparations were haſtening for an early campaign, &c."

Her majeſty's endeavours towards this great work, having been in ſuch a forwardneſs at the time that her meſſage was ſent, I ſhall here, as in the moſt proper place, relate the ſeveral ſteps, by which the intercourſe between the courts of France and Britain, was begun and carried on.

The marquis De Torcy, ſent by the moſt Chriſtian king to the Hague, had there, in the year 1709, made very advantageous offers to the allies, in his maſter's name; which our miniſters, as well as thoſe of the States, thought fit to refuſe; and

advanced

advanced other propoſals in their ſtead; but of ſuch a nature as no prince could digeſt, who did not lie at the immediate mercy of his enemies. It was demanded, among other things, "That the "French king ſhould employ his own troops, in "conjunction with thoſe of the allies, to drive his "grandſon out of Spain." The propoſers knew very well, that the enemy would never conſent to this; and if it were poſſible they could at firſt have any ſuch hopes, Monſ. De Torcy aſſured them to the contrary, in a manner which might well be believed; for, when the Britiſh and Dutch plenipotentiaries were drawing up their demands, they deſired that miniſter to aſſiſt them in the ſtyle and expreſſion: which he very readily did, and made uſe of the ſtrongeſt words he could find to pleaſe them. He then inſiſted to know their laſt reſolution, whether theſe were the loweſt terms the allies would accept; and having received a determinate anſwer in the affirmative, he ſpoke to this effect:

"That he thanked them heartily, for giving "him the happieſt day he had ever ſeen in his "life: That in perfect obedience to his maſter, he "had made conceſſions, in his own opinion, "highly derogatory to the king's honour and in-"tereſt: That he had not concealed the difficulties "of his court, or the diſcontents of his country, "by a long and unſucceſsful war, which could only "juſtify the large offers he had been empowered "to make: That the conditions of peace, now de-"livered into his hands by the allies, would raiſe "a new ſpirit in the nation, and remove the

" greateſt difficulty the court lay under; putting it " in his maſter's power, to convince all his ſub- " jects, how earneſtly his majeſty deſired to eaſe " them from the burthen of the war; but that his " enemies would not accept of any terms, which " could conſiſt either with their ſafety, or his ho- " nour." Monſ. De Torcy aſſured the penſionary, in the ſtrongeſt manner, and bid him count upon it, " That the king his maſter would never ſign " thoſe articles."

It ſoon appeared that the marquis De Torcy's predictions were true; for, upon delivering to his maſter the laſt reſolutions of the allies, that prince took care to publiſh them all over his kingdom, as an appeal to his ſubjects, againſt the unreaſonableneſs and injuſtice of his enemies: which proceeding effectually anſwered the utmoſt he intended by it; for, the French nation, extremely jealous of their monarch's glory, made univerſal offers of their lives and fortunes, rather than ſubmit to ſuch ignominious terms; and the clergy, in particular, promiſed to give the king their conſecrated plate, towards continuing the war. Thus that mighty kingdom (generally thought to be wholly exhauſted of its wealth) when driven to a neceſſity by the imprudence of the allies, or by the corruption of particular men who influenced their councils, recovered ſtrength enough to ſupport itſelf, for three following campaigns; and in the laſt, by the fatal blindneſs or obſtinacy of the Dutch (venturing to act without the aſſiſtance of Britain, which they had ſhamefully abandoned) was an over-match for the whole confederate army.

Thoſe

Thoſe who in order to defend the proceedings of the allies, have given an account of this negociation, do wholly omit the circumſtance I have now related; and expreſs the zeal of the Britiſh and Dutch miniſters for a peace, by informing us how frequently they ſent after Monſ. De Torcy and Monſ. Rouille, for a farther conference. But in the mean time, Mr. Horatio Walpole, ſecretary to the queen's plenipotentiaries, was diſpatched over hither, to have thoſe abortive articles ſigned and ratified by her majeſty at a venture; which was accordingly done: a piece of management altogether abſurd, and without example; contrived only to deceive our people into a belief that a peace was intended, and to ſhew what great things the miniſtry deſigned to do.

But, this hope expiring, upon the news that France had refuſed to ſign thoſe articles, all was ſolved by recourſe to the old topick of the French perfidiouſneſs. We loaded them plentifully with ignominious appellations: "they were a nation "never to be truſted." The parliament chearfully continued their ſupplies, and the war went on. The winter following began the ſecond and laſt ſeſſion of the preceding parliament, noted for the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, and the occaſions thereby given to the people, to diſcover and exert their diſpoſitions, very oppoſite to the deſigns of thoſe who were then in power. In the ſummer of 1710, enſued a gradual change of the miniſtry; and in the beginning of that winter the preſent parliament was called.

The King of France, whoſe real intereſts made him ſincerely deſirous of any tolerable peace, found it impoſſible to treat upon equal conditions, with either of the two maritime powers engaged againſt him, becauſe of the prevalency of factions in both; who acted in concert to their mutual private advantage, although directly againſt the general diſpoſitions of the people in either, as well as againſt their ſeveral maxims of government. But, upon the great turn of affairs and councils here in England, the new parliament and miniſters, acting from other motives, and upon other principles, that prince hoped an opportunity might ariſe, of reſuming his endeavours towards a peace.

There was at this time in England a French eccleſiaſtic, called the abbé Gualtier, who had reſided ſeveral years in London, under the protection of ſome foreign miniſters, in whoſe families he uſed, upon occaſion, to exerciſe his function of a prieſt. After the battle of Blenheim, this gentleman went down to Nottingham, where ſeveral French priſoners of quality were kept; to whom he rendered thoſe offices of civility, ſuitable to perſons in their condition, which, upon their return to France, they reported to his advantage. Among the reſt, the chevalier De Croiſſy told his brother, the marquis De Torcy, "That, whenever the French court "* would have a mind to make overtures of peace "with England, Monſieur Gualtier might be very "uſefully employed, in handing them to the mi-

* *Would have a mind—would*, is here improperly uſed for *ſhould*.

"niſters

" niſters here." This was no farther thought of at preſent. In the mean time the war went on; and the conferences at the Hague, and Gertruydenberg, miſcarried, by the allies inſiſting upon ſuch demands, as they neither expected, nor perhaps deſired ſhould be granted.

Some time in July, 1710, Monſ. Gualtier received a letter from the marquis De Torcy, ſignifying, " That, a report being ſpread of her majeſty's " intentions to change her miniſtry, to take Mr. " Harley into her councils, and to diſſolve her par- " liament, the moſt Chriſtian king thought it " might be now a favourable conjuncture to offer " new propoſals of a treaty." Monſ. Gualtier was therefore directed to apply himſelf, in the marquis's name, either to the duke of Shrewſbury, the earl of Jerſey, or Mr. Harley; and inform the French court how ſuch a propoſition would be reliſhed. Gualtier choſe to deliver his meſſage to the ſecond of thoſe, who had been ambaſſador from the late king to France. But the earl excuſed himſelf from entering into particulars with a ſtranger, and a private perſon, who had no authority for what he ſaid, more than a letter from Monſieur De Torcy. Gualtier offered to procure another from that miniſter to the earl himſelf; and did ſo, in a month after: but obtained no anſwer till December following; when the queen had made all neceſſary changes, and ſummoned a free parliament to her wiſhes. About the beginning of January, the abbé (after having procured his diſmiſſion from count Gallas, the emperor's envoy, at that time his

his protector) was ſent to Paris, to inform Monſ. De Torcy, "That her majeſty would be willing "his maſter ſhould reſume the treaty with Hol- "land, provided the demands of England might "be previouſly granted." Gualtier came back, after a ſhort ſtay, with a return to his meſſage, "That "the Dutch had uſed the moſt Chriſtian king and "his miniſters in ſuch a manner, both at the "Hague and Gertruydenberg, as made that prince "reſolve not to expoſe himſelf any more to the "like treatment; that he therefore choſe to addreſs "himſelf to England, and was ready to make "whatever offers her majeſty could reaſonably ex- "pect, for the advantage of her own kingdoms, "and the ſatisfaction of her allies."

After this meſſage had been duly conſidered by the queen and her miniſters, Monſ. Gualtier was diſpatched a ſecond time to France, about the beginning of March, 1710-11, with an anſwer to the following purpoſe: "That ſince France had their "particular reaſons for not beginning again to treat "with Holland, England was willing to remove "that difficulty, and propoſed it ſhould be done "in this manner: That France ſhould ſend over "hither the propoſitions for a treaty, which ſhould "be tranſmitted by England to Holland, to be "jointly treated on that ſide of the water; but "it was to be underſtood, that the ſame propoſition "formerly offered to Holland, was to be made to "England, or one not leſs advantageous to the "allies: for although England would enter moſt "ſincerely into ſuch a treaty, and ſhew in the

"courſe

" courſe of it the clearneſs of their intentions; yet " they could not with honour, entertain a leſs be- " neficial propoſal, than what was offered to the " States."

That prince, as well as his miniſter Monſ. De Torcy, either felt, or affected, ſo much reſentment of the uſage the latter had met at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, that they appeared fully determined againſt making any application to the States, where the ſame perſons continued ſtill in power, of whoſe treatment they ſo heavily complained. They ſeemed altogether to diſtruſt the inclination of that republick towards a peace; but, at the ſame time, ſhewed a mighty complaiſance to the Engliſh nation, and a deſire to have her majeſty at the head of a treaty. This appears by the firſt overture in form ſent from that kingdom, and ſigned by Monſ. De Torcy, on the 22d of April, N. S. 1711, to the following effect:

" That, as it could not be doubted but the king " was in a condition of continuing the war with " honour, ſo it could not be looked on as a mark " of weakneſs in his majeſty, to break the ſilence " he had kept, ſince the conferences at Gertruy- " denberg, and that before the opening of the cam- " paign, he now gives farther proof of the deſire " he always had, to procure the repoſe of Europe. " But, after what he has found, by experience, of " the ſentiments of thoſe perſons who now govern " the republick of Holland, and of their induſtry " in rendering all negociations without effect, his " majeſty will, for the public good, offer to the

" Engliſh

" Engliſh nation thoſe propoſitions which he " thinks fit to make, for terminating the war, " and for ſettling the tranquillity of Europe upon " a ſolid foundation. It is with this view that he " offers to enter into a treaty of peace, founded " on the following conditions:

" Firſt, The Engliſh nation ſhall have real ſe- " curities for carrying on their trade in Spain, the " Indies, and ports of the Mediterranean.

" Secondly, The king will conſent to form a " ſufficient barrier in the Low Countries, for the " ſecurity of the republic of Holland; and this " barrier ſhall be ſuch as England ſhall agree upon " and approve; his majeſty promiſing, at the ſame " time, entire liberty and ſecurity to the trade of " the Dutch.

" Thirdly, All reaſonable methods ſhall be " thought of, with ſincerity and truth, for giv- " ing ſatisfaction to the allies of England and Hol- " land.

" Fourthly, Whereas the affairs of the king of " Spain are in ſo good a condition, as to furniſh " new expedients, for putting an end to the diſputes " about that monarchy, and for ſettling it to the " ſatisfaction of the ſeveral parties concerned, all " ſincere endeavours ſhall be uſed, for ſurmounting " the difficulties ariſen upon this occaſion; and " the trade and intereſt of all parties engaged in " the preſent war ſhall be ſecured.

" Fifthly, The conferences, in order to treat of " a peace upon theſe conditions, ſhall be imme- " diately opened; and the plenipotentiaries whom

" the

" the king ſhall name to aſſiſt thereat, ſhall treat " with thoſe of England and Holland, either alone, " or in conjunction with thoſe of their allies, as " England ſhall chooſe.

" Sixthly, His majeſty propoſes the towns of " Aix la Chapelle, or Liege, for the place where " the plenipotentiaries ſhall aſſemble; leaving " the choice likewiſe to England, of either of " the ſaid towns, wherein to treat of a general " peace."

Theſe overtures, although expreſſing much confidence in the miniſtry here, great deference to the queen, and diſpleaſure againſt the Dutch, were immediately tranſmitted by her majeſty's command to her ambaſſador in Holland, with orders that they ſhould be communicated to the penſionary. The abbé Gualtier was deſired to ſignify this proceeding to the marquis De Torcy; at the ſame time to let that miniſter underſtand, " that ſome of the " above articles ought to be explained." The lord Raby, now earl of Strafford, was directed to tell the penſionary, " That her majeſty, being re- " ſolved, in making peace, as in making war, " to act in perfect concert with the States, would " not loſe a moment in tranſmitting to him a paper " of this importance: That the queen earneſtly " deſired, that the ſecret might be kept among as " few as poſſible; and that ſhe hoped the pen- " ſionary would adviſe upon this occaſion, with " no perſon whatſoever, except ſuch, as by the " conſtitution of that government, are unavoidably " neceſſary: That the terms of the ſeveral propo-

" ſitions

" ſitions were indeed too general; but, however, " they contained an offer to treat: And that, al- " though there appeared an air of complaiſance to " England, through the whole paper, and the con- " trary to Holland, yet this could have no ill " conſequences, as long as the queen and the " States took care to underſtand each other, and to " act with as little reſerve, as became two powers " ſo nearly allied in intereſt; which rule, on the " part of Britain, ſhould be inviolably obſerved." It was ſignified likewiſe to the penſionary, " That " the duke of Marlborough had no communica- " tion of this affair from England; and that it " was ſuppoſed he would have none from the " Hague."

After theſe propoſals had been conſidered in Holland, the ambaſſador was directed to ſend back the opinion of the Dutch miniſters upon them. The court here was indeed apprehenſive that the penſionary would be alarmed at the whole frame of monſieur de Torcy's paper, and particularly at theſe expreſſions, " That the Engliſh ſhall have " real ſecurities for their trade, &c.; and that the " barrier for the States General ſhall be ſuch as " England ſhall agree upon and approve." It was natural to think, that the fear which the Dutch would conceive, of our obtaining advantageous terms for Britain, might put them upon trying under-hand for themſelves, and endeavouring to over-reach us in the management of the peace, as they had hitherto done in that of the war: the am- baſſador was therefore cautioned to be very watch-

ful, in diſcovering any workings, which might tend that way.

When the lord Raby was firſt ſent to the Hague, the duke of Marlborough and lord Townſhend had, for very obvious reaſons, uſed their utmoſt endeavours, to involve him in as many difficulties as they could; upon which, and other accounts needleſs to mention, it was thought proper that his grace, then in Flanders, ſhould not be let into the ſecret of this affair.

The propoſal of Aix or Liege, for a place of treaty, was only a farther mark of their old diſcontent againſt Holland, to ſhew they would not name any town which belonged to the States.

The penſionary, having conſulted thoſe who had been formerly employed in the negociations of peace, and enjoined them the utmoſt ſecrecy, to avoid the jealouſy of the foreign miniſters there, deſired the ambaſſador to return her majeſty thanks, for the obliging manner of communicating the French overtures, for the confidence ſhe placed in the States, and for her promiſe of making no ſtep towards a peace, but in concert with them; aſſuring her of the like on their part: "That al-
"though the States endeavoured to hide it from
"the enemy, they were as weary of the war as
"we; and very heartily deſirous of a good and
"laſting peace, as well as ready to join in any
"method, which her majeſty ſhould think proper
"to obtain it: That the States looked upon theſe
"propoſitions as very dark and general; and they
"obſerved how the enemy would create jealouſies

"between

" between the queen, their republic, and the other
" allies; but they were ſatisfied it would have no
" effect, and relied entirely on the juſtneſs and
" prudence of her majeſty, who, they doubted
" not, would make the French explain themſelves
" more particularly, in the ſeveral points of their
" propoſals, and ſend a plan of the particular con-
" ditions, whereupon they would make a peace;
" after which, the States would be ready, either
" to join with her majeſty, or to make their ob-
" jections; and were prepared to bring with them
" all the facility imaginable, towards promoting ſo
" good a work."

This is the ſum of the verbal anſwer made by the penſionary, upon communicating to him the French propoſals: and I have choſen to ſet it down, rather than tranſcribe the other given to the ambaſſador ſome days after; which was more in form, and to the ſame purpoſe, but ſhorter, and in my opinion not ſo well diſcovering the true diſpoſition of the Dutch miniſters: for, after the queen had tranſmitted the French overtures to Holland, and the States found her majeſty was bent in earneſt upon the thoughts of a peace, they began to caſt about how to get the negociation into their own hands. They knew that whatever power received the firſt propoſals, would be wiſe enough to ſtipulate ſomething for themſelves; as they had done in their own caſe, both at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, where they carved as they pleaſed, without any regard to the intereſts of their neareſt allies. For this reaſon, while they endeavoured to

amuſe

amuſe the Britiſh court, with expoſtulations upon the ſeveral preliminaries ſent from France, Monſieur Petecum, a forward meddling agent of Holſtein, who had reſided ſome years in Holland, negociated with Heinſius the grand penſionary, as well as with Vanderduſſen and Buys, about reſtoring the conferences between France and that republic, broken off in Gertruydenberg; purſuant to which, about the end of May, N. S. 1711, Petecum wrote to the marquis De Torcy, with the privity of the penſionary, and probably of the other two. The ſubſtance of his letter was, to inform the marquis, "That things might eaſily be diſpoſed, ſo as to "ſettle a correſpondence between that crown and "the republic, in order to renew the treaty of "peace: That this could be done with the greater "ſecrecy, becauſe Monſieur Heinſius, by virtue "of his oath as penſionary, might keep any affair "private, as long as he thought neceſſary, and "was not obliged to communicate it, until he "believed things were ripe; and as long as he "concealed it from his maſters, he was not bound "to diſcover it, either to the miniſters of the em-"peror, or thoſe of her Britiſh majeſty: That "ſince England thought it proper for king Charles, "to continue the whole campaign in Catalonia "(though he ſhould be choſen emperor) in order "to ſupport the war in Spain, it was neceſſary for "France to treat in the moſt ſecret manner with "the States, who were not now, ſo violently as "formerly, againſt having Philip on the Spaniſh "throne, upon certain conditions for ſecuring

" their trade; but were jealous of England's de-
" ſign, to fortify ſome trading towns in Spain for
" themſelves: That Heinſius extremely deſired to
" get out of the war, for ſome reaſons which he (Pe-
" tecum) was not permitted to tell; and that Van-
" derduſſen and Buys were impatient to have the
" negociations with France, once more ſet on foot;
" which if monſieur Torcy thought fit to conſent
" to, Petecum engaged that the States would de-
" termine to ſettle the preliminaries, in the mid-
" way between Paris and the Hague, with what-
" ever miniſters the moſt Chriſtian king ſhould
" pleaſe to employ."

Monſieur Torcy refuſed this overture; and in his anſwer to Monſieur Petecum, aſſigned for the reaſon, the treatment his maſter's former propoſals had met with, at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, from the miniſters of Holland. Britain and Holland ſeemed pretty well agreed, that thoſe propoſals were too looſe and imperfect, to be a foundation for entering upon a general treaty; and Monſieur Gualtier was deſired to ſignify to the French court, " That it was expected they ſhould explain
" themſelves more particularly, on the ſeveral ar-
" ticles."

But in the mean time, the queen was firmly reſolved, that the intereſts of her own kingdoms, ſhould not be neglected at this juncture, as they had formerly twice been, while the Dutch were principal managers of a negociation with France. Her majeſty had given frequent, and early notice to the States, of the general diſpoſition of her people

people towards a peace, of her own inability to continue the war, upon the old foot, under the diſadvantage of unequal quotas, and the univerſal backwardneſs of her allies. She had likewiſe informed them of ſeveral advances made to her on the ſide of France; which ſhe had refuſed to hearken to, till ſhe had conſulted with thoſe her good friends and confederates, and heard their opinion on that ſubject. But the Dutch, who apprehended nothing more than to ſee Britain at the head of a treaty, were backward and ſullen, diſliked all propoſals by the queen's intervention, and ſaid, "It was a piece of artifice in France, to "divide the allies." Beſides, they knew the miniſtry was young; and the oppoſite faction had given them aſſurances, "That the people of Eng-"land would never endure a peace without Spain, "nor the men in power dare to attempt it, after "the reſolutions of one houſe of parliament to "the contrary." But, in the midſt of this unwillingneſs to receive any overtures from France by the queen's hands, the Dutch miniſters were actually engaged in a correſpondence with that court; where they urged our inability to begin a treaty, by reaſon of thoſe factions which themſelves had inflamed; and were ready to commence a negociation upon much eaſier terms, than what they ſuppoſed we demanded. For, not to mention the duke of Lorrain's interpoſition in behalf of Holland, which France abſolutely refuſed to accept; the letters ſent from the Dutch to that court, were ſhewn ſome months after to a Britiſh

miniſter there, which gave much weight to Monſieur De Torcy's inſinuations, "That he knew "where to meet with more compliance, if the "neceſſity of affairs ſhould force him to it by our "refuſal." And the violence of the States againſt our entertaining that correſpondence, was, only becauſe they knew theirs would never be accepted, at leaſt till ours were thrown off.

The queen, ſenſible of all this, reſolved to provide for her own kingdoms; and having therefore prepared ſuch demands for her principal allies, as might be a ground for proceeding to a general treaty, without pretending to adjuſt their ſeveral intereſts; ſhe reſolved to ſtipulate in a particular manner the advantage of Britain. The following preliminary demands were accordingly drawn up, in order to be tranſmitted to France:

"Great Britain will not enter into any negocia-"tion of peace, otherwiſe than upon theſe condi-"tions obtained before-hand.

"That the union of the two crowns of France "and Spain ſhall be prevented: That ſatisfaction "ſhall be given to all the allies, and trade ſettled "and maintained.

"If France be diſpoſed to treat upon this view, "it is not to be doubted that the following propo-"ſitions will be found reaſonable:

"A barrier ſhall be formed in the Low Coun-"tries for the States General; and their trade ſhall "be ſecured.

"A barrier likewiſe ſhall be formed for the "Empire.

"The

" The pretenſions of all the allies, founded upon " former treaties, ſhall be regulated and determined " to their general ſatisfaction.

" In order to make a more equal balance of " power in Italy, the dominions and territories, " which in the beginning of the preſent war be- " longed to the duke of Savoy, and are now in " the poſſeſſion of France, ſhall be reſtored to his " royal highneſs; and ſuch other places in Italy ſhall " be yielded to him, as will be found neceſſary " and agreeable to the ſenſe of former treaties, " made with this prince.

" As to Great Britain in particular, the ſucceſ- " ſion to the crown of the kingdoms, according " to the preſent eſtabliſhment, ſhall be acknow- " ledged.

" A new treaty of commerce between Great " Britain and France ſhall be made, after the " moſt juſt and reaſonable manner.

" Dunkirk ſhall be demoliſhed.

" Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, ſhall remain in " the hands of the preſent poſſeſſors.

" The Engliſh ſhall have the aſſiento, in the " ſame manner the French now enjoy it; and " ſuch places in the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, ſhall be " aſſigned to thoſe concerned in this traffic, for " the refreſhment and ſale of their negroes, as ſhall " be found neceſſary and convenient.

" All advantages, rights, and privileges, already " granted, and which may hereafter be granted, by " Spain, to the ſubjects of France, or to any other

" nation whatſoever, ſhall be equally granted to " the ſubjects of Great Britain.

" And, for better ſecuring the Britiſh trade in " the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, certain places to be " named in the treaty of peace, ſhall be put into " poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.

" Newfoundland, with the Bay and Streights of " Hudſon, ſhall be entirely reſtored to the Engliſh; " and Great Britain and France ſhall ſeverally keep " and poſſeſs, all thoſe countries and territories in " North America, which each of the ſaid nations " ſhall be in poſſeſſion of, at the time when the " ratification of this treaty, ſhall be publiſhed in " thoſe parts of the world.

" Theſe demands, and all other proceedings be- " tween Great Britain and France, ſhall be kept " inviolably ſecret, until they are publiſhed by the " mutual conſent of both parties."

The laſt article was not only intended for avoiding, if poſſible, the jealouſy of the Dutch, but to prevent the clamours of the abettors here at home; who, under the pretended fears of our doing injuſtice to the Dutch, by acting without the privity of that republic, in order to make a ſeparate peace, would be ready to drive on the worſt deſigns againſt the queen and miniſtry, in order to recover the power they had loſt.

In June, 1711, Mr. Prior, a perſon of great diſtinction, not only on account of his wit, but for his abilities in the management of affairs, and who had been formerly employed at the French court,

was

was diſpatched thither by her majeſty with the foregoing demands. This gentleman was received at Verſailles with great civility. The king declared, " That no proceeding in order to a ge-
" neral treaty would be ſo agreeable to him, as by
" the intervention of England; and that his ma-
" jeſty, being deſirous to contribute with all his
" power, towards the repoſe of Europe, did an-
" ſwer to the demands which had been made:

" That he would conſent freely and ſincerely, to
" all juſt and reaſonable methods, for hindering
" the crowns of France and Spain from being ever
" united under the ſame prince; his majeſty being
" perſuaded that ſuch an exceſs of power would be
" as contrary to the general good and repoſe of
" Europe, as it was oppoſite to the will of the
" late catholic king Charles the Second." He ſaid, " His intention was, that all parties in the
" preſent war ſhould find their reaſonable ſatis-
" faction in the intended treaty of peace; and
" that trade ſhould be ſettled, and maintained for
" the future, to the advantage of thoſe nations
" which formerly poſſeſſed it.

" That as the king will exactly obſerve the con-
" ditions of peace, whenever it ſhall be concluded;
" and as the object he propoſes to himſelf is, to
" ſecure the frontiers of his own kingdom, with-
" out giving any ſort of diſturbance to his neigh-
" bours; he promiſes to agree, that by the future
" treaty of peace, the Dutch ſhall be put into poſ-
" ſeſſion of all ſuch fortified places, as ſhall be
" ſpecified in the ſaid treaty, to ſerve for a barrier

" to that republic, againſt all attempts on the ſide " of France. He engages likewiſe, to give all " neceſſary ſecurities, for removing the jealouſies " raiſed among the German princes, of his ma- " jeſty's deſigns.

" That when the conferences in order to a ge- " neral treaty ſhall be formed, all the pretenſions " of the ſeveral princes, and ſtates, engaged in the " preſent war, ſhall be fairly and amicably diſ- " cuſſed; nor ſhall any thing be omitted, which " may regulate and determine them to the ſatis- " faction of all parties.

" That purſuant to the demands made by Eng- " land, his majeſty promiſes to reſtore to the duke " of Savoy, thoſe demeſnes and territories which " belonged to that prince, at the beginning of this " war, and which his majeſty is now in poſſeſſion " of; and the king conſents farther, that ſuch " other places in Italy ſhall be yielded to the duke " of Savoy, as ſhall be found neceſſary, according " to the ſenſe of thoſe treaties, made between the " ſaid duke and his allies.

" That the king's ſentiments of the preſent go- " vernment of Great Britain, the open declaration " he made in Holland, of his reſolution to treat " of peace by applications to the Engliſh, the aſ- " ſurances he had given of engaging the king of " Spain to leave Gibraltar in their hands, (all " which are convincing proofs of his perfect eſteem " for a nation ſtill in war with him) leave no room " to doubt of his majeſty's inclination, to give " England all ſecurities and advantages for their

" trade,

" trade, which they can reaſonably demand. But, " as his majeſty cannot perſuade himſelf that a " government ſo clear-ſighted as ours, will inſiſt " upon conditions which muſt abſolutely deſtroy " the trade of France and Spain, as well as that " of all other nations of Europe, he thinks the de- " mands made by Great Britain, may require a " more particular diſcuſſion.

" That upon this foundation, the king thought " the beſt way of advancing and perfecting a ne- " gociation, the beginning of which he had ſeen " with ſo much ſatisfaction, would be, to ſend into " England a perſon inſtructed in his intention, and " authorized by him to agree upon ſecurities for " ſettling the trade of the ſubjects of England, and " thoſe particular advantages to be ſtipulated in " their favour, without deſtroying the trade of the " French and Spaniards, or of other nations in " Chriſtendom.

" That therefore his majeſty had charged the " perſon choſen for this commiſſion, to anſwer the " other articles of the memorial given him by Mr. " Prior, the ſecret of which ſhould be exactly ob- " ſerved."

Monſ. De Torcy had, for ſome years paſt, uſed all his endeavours to incline his maſter towards a peace, purſuant to the maxim of his uncle Colbert, " That a long war was not for the intereſt of " France." It was for this reaſon, the king made choice of him in the conferences at the Hague; the bad ſucceſs whereof, although it filled him with reſentments againſt the Dutch, did not alter his opinion: but he was violently oppoſed by a party, both

both in the court and kingdom, who pretended to fear he would ſacrifice the glory of the prince and country, by too large conceſſions; or perhaps would rather wiſh that the firſt offers ſhould have been ſtill made to the Dutch, as a people more likely to be leſs ſolicitous about the intereſt of Britain, than her majeſty would certainly be for theirs; and the particular deſign of Mr. Prior was, to find out whether that miniſter had credit enough with his prince, and a ſupport from others in power, ſufficient to over-rule the faction againſt peace.

Mr. Prior's journey could not be kept a ſecret, as the court here at firſt ſeemed to intend it. He was diſcovered, at his return, by an officer of the port at Dover, where he landed, after ſix weeks abſence; upon which, the Dutch Gazettes, and Engliſh News-papers, were full of ſpeculations.

At the ſame time with Mr. Prior there arrived from France Monſ. Meſnager, knight of the order of St. Michael, and one of the council of trade to the moſt Chriſtian king. His commiſſion was, in general, empowering him to treat with the miniſter of any prince, engaged in the war againſt his maſter. In his firſt conferences with the queen's miniſters, he pretended orders to inſiſt that her majeſty ſhould enter upon particular engagements in ſeveral articles, which did not depend upon her, but concerned only the intereſt of the allies, reciprocally with thoſe of the moſt Chriſtian king: whereas the negociation had begun upon this principle, That France ſhould conſent to adjuſt the intereſts of Great Britain in the firſt place, whereby her majeſty would be afterwards enabled, by her good

good offices on all ſides, to facilitate the general peace. The queen reſolved, never to depart from this principle: but was abſolutely determined to remit the particular intereſts of the allies, to general conferences, where ſhe would do the utmoſt in her power to procure the repoſe of Europe, and the ſatisfaction of all parties. It was plain, France could run no hazard by this proceeding, becauſe the preliminary articles would have no force, before a general peace was ſigned: therefore it was not doubted but Monſ. Meſnager would have orders to wave this new pretenſion, and go on in treating upon that foot, which was at firſt propoſed. In ſhort, the miniſters required a poſitive and ſpeedy anſwer, to the articles in queſtion; ſince they contained only ſuch advantages and ſecurities, as her majeſty thought ſhe had a right to require from any prince whatſoever, to whom the dominions of Spain ſhould happen to fall.

The particular demands of Britain were formed into eight articles; which Monſ. Meſnager having tranſmitted to his court, and received new powers from thence, had orders to give his maſter's conſent, by way of anſwers to the ſeveral points, to be obligatory only after a general peace. Theſe demands, together with the anſwers of the French king, were drawn up and ſigned by Monſ. Meſnager, and her majeſty's two principal ſecretaries of ſtate; whereof I ſhall here preſent an extract to the reader.

In the preamble, the moſt Chriſtian king ſets forth, "That, being particularly informed, by the "laſt memorial which the Britiſh miniſters deli-

"vered

" vered to Monſ. Meſnager, of the diſpoſitions of
" this crown to facilitate a general peace, to the
" ſatisfaction of the ſeveral parties concerned; and
" his majeſty finding, in effect, as the ſaid memo-
" rial declares, that he runs no hazard by engaging
" himſelf in the manner there expreſſed, ſince the
" preliminary articles will be of no force, until the
" ſigning of the general peace; and being ſincerely
" deſirous to advance to the utmoſt of his power
" the repoſe of Europe, eſpecially by a way ſo
" agreeable as the interpoſition of a princeſs, whom
" ſo many ties of blood ought to unite to him,
" and whoſe ſentiments for the public tranquillity
" cannot be doubted; his majeſty, moved by theſe
" conſiderations, has ordered Monſ. Meſnager,
" knight, &c. to give the following anſwers, in
" writing, to the articles contained in the memorial
" tranſmitted to him, intituled, Preliminary De-
" mands for Great Britain in particular."

The articles were theſe that follow:

" Firſt, The ſucceſſion to the crown to be ac-
" knowledged, according to the preſent eſtabliſh-
" ment.

" Secondly, A new treaty of commerce between
" Great Britain and France to be made, after the
" moſt juſt and reaſonable manner.

" Thirdly, Dunkirk to be demoliſhed.

" Fourthly, Gibraltar and Port-Mahon to con-
" tinue in the hands of thoſe who now poſſeſs
" them.

" Fifthly, The aſſiento (or liberty of ſelling Ne-
" groes to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies) to be granted
" to the Engliſh, in as full a manner as the French

" poſſeſs

" poſſeſs it at preſent; and ſuch places in the ſaid
" Weſt Indies to be aſſigned to the perſons con-
" cerned in this trade, for the refreſhment and ſale
" of their Negroes, as ſhall be found neceſſary and
" convenient.

" Sixthly, Whatever advantages, privileges, and
" rights, are already, or may hereafter be, granted
" by Spain to the ſubjects of France, or any other
" nation, ſhall be equally granted to the ſubjects of
" Great Britain.

" Seventhly, For better protecting their trade in
" the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, the Engliſh ſhall be
" put into poſſeſſion of ſuch places, as ſhall be
" named in the treaty of peace: or, as an equiva-
" lent for this article, that the aſſiento be granted
" Britain for the term of thirty years.

" That the iſle of St. Chriſtopher's be likewiſe
" ſecured to the Engliſh.

" That the advantages and exemption from du-
" ties, promiſed by Monſieur Meſnager, which he
" affirms will amount to fifteen per cent. upon all
" goods of the growth and manufacture of Great
" Britain, be effectually allowed.

" That whereas, on the ſide of the river of
" Plate, the Engliſh are not in poſſeſſion of any
" colony, a certain extent of territory be allowed
" them on the ſaid river, for refreſhing and keep-
" ing their Negroes, till they are ſold to the Spa-
" niards; ſubject nevertheleſs to the inſpection of
" an officer appointed by Spain.

" Eighthly, Newfoundland, and the Bay and
" Streights of Hudſon, ſhall be entirely reſtored to
" the Engliſh; and Great Britain and France ſhall
" reſpectively

" reſpectively keep whatever dominions, in North " America, each of them ſhall be in poſſeſſion of, " when the ratification of this treaty ſhall be pub- " liſhed in thoſe parts of the world."

The ſix firſt articles were allowed without any difficulty, except that about Dunkirk, where France was to have an equivalent, to be ſettled in a general treaty.

A difficulty ariſing upon the ſeventh article, the propoſed equivalent was allowed inſtead thereof.

The laſt article was referred to the general treaty of peace; only the French inſiſted to have the power of fiſhing for cod, and drying them on the iſland of Newfoundland.

Theſe articles were to be looked upon as conditions which the moſt Chriſtian king conſented to allow; and whenever a general peace ſhould be ſigned, they were to be digeſted into the uſual form of a treaty, to the ſatisfaction of both crowns.

The queen having thus provided for the ſecurity and advantage of her kingdoms, whenever a peace ſhould be made, and upon terms no way interfering with the intereſt of her allies; the next thing in order was, to procure from France ſuch preliminary articles, as might be a ground upon which to commence a general treaty. Theſe were adjuſted, and ſigned the ſame day with the former; and, having been delivered to the ſeveral miniſters reſiding here, from the powers in alliance with England, were quickly made public. But the various conſtructions and cenſures which paſſed upon them, have made it neceſſary to give the reader the following tranſcript:

" The king being willing to contribute all that is " in his power to the re-eſtabliſhing of the general " peace; his majeſty declares,

" 1. That he will acknowledge the queen of " Great Britain in that quality, as alſo the ſucceſ- " ſion of that crown according to the ſettlement.

" 2. That he will freely and *bonâ fide* conſent to " the taking all juſt and reaſonable meaſures, for " hindering that the crowns of France and Spain, " may ever be united on the head of the ſame " prince; his majeſty being perſuaded that this ex- " ceſs of power, would be contrary to the good " and quiet of Europe.

" 3. The king's intention is, that all the parties " engaged in the preſent war, without excepting " any of them, may find their reaſonable ſatis- " faction, in the treaty of peace which ſhall be " made; that commerce may be re-eſtabliſhed and " maintained for the future, to the advantage of " Great Britain, of Holland, and of the other na- " tions who have been accuſtomed to exerciſe com- " merce.

" 4. As the king will likewiſe maintain exactly " the obſervance of the peace when it ſhall be con- " cluded; and the object the king propoſes to him- " ſelf being to ſecure the frontiers of his kingdom, " without diſturbing in any manner whatever the " neighbouring ſtates; he promiſes to agree, by " the treaty which ſhall be made, that the Dutch " ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of the fortified places " which ſhall be mentioned in the Netherlands, to " ſerve hereafter for a barrier, which may ſecure

" the

" the quiet of the republick of Holland againſt
" any enterprize from the part of France.

" 5. The king conſents likewiſe, that a ſecure
" and convenient barrier ſhould be formed for the
" empire, and for the houſe of Auſtria.

" 6. Notwithſtanding Dunkirk coſt the king very
" great ſums, as well to purchaſe it, as to for-
" tify it; and that it is farther neceſſary to be at
" very conſiderable expence for razing the works;
" his majeſty is willing however to engage to cauſe
" them to be demoliſhed immediately after the
" concluſion of the peace, on condition, that for
" the fortifications of that place, a proper equiva-
" lent, that may content him, be given him: and
" as England cannot furniſh that equivalent, the
" diſcuſſion of it ſhall be referred to the confer-
" ences to be held for the negociation of the
" peace.

" 7. When the conferences for the negociation
" of the peace ſhall be formed, all the pretenſions
" of the princes and ſtates engaged in the preſent
" war ſhall be therein diſcuſſed *bonâ fide* and ami-
" cably: and nothing ſhall be omitted, to regulate
" and terminate them to the ſatisfaction of all the
" parties.

" MESNAGER."

Theſe overtures are founded upon the eighth article of the grand alliance made in 1701, wherein are contained the conditions without which a peace is not to be made; and whoever compares both, will find the preliminaries to reach every point propoſed in that article, which thoſe who cenſured them

them at home, if they ſpoke their thoughts, did not underſtand: for nothing can be plainer than what the public has often been told, "That the "recovery of Spain from the houſe of Bourbon, "was a thing never imagined when the war be- "gan, but a juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction to the "emperor." Much leſs ought ſuch a condition to be held neceſſary at preſent, not only becauſe it is allowed on all hands to be impracticable; but likewiſe, becauſe, by the changes in the Auſtrian and Bourbon families, it would not be ſafe: neither did thoſe who were loudeſt in blaming the French preliminaries, know any thing of the advantages privately ſtipulated for Britain, whoſe intereſts, they aſſured us, were all made a ſacrifice to the corruption or folly of the managers; and therefore, becauſe the oppoſers of peace, have been better informed by what they have ſince heard and ſeen, they have changed their battery, and accuſed the miniſters for betraying the Dutch.

The lord Raby, her majeſty's ambaſſador at the Hague, having made a ſhort journey to England, where he was created earl of Strafford, went back to Holland about the beginning of October, 1711, with the above preliminaries, in order to communicate them to the penſionary, and other miniſters of the States. The earl was inſtructed to let them know, "That the queen had, according to their "deſire, returned an anſwer to the firſt propoſitions "ſigned by Monſ. Torcy, ſignifying, that the "French offers were thought, both by her majeſty "and the States, neither ſo particular nor ſo full "as they ought to be; and inſiſting to have a diſ-

" tinct project formed, of such a peace as the most
" Christian king would be willing to conclude:
" That this affair having been for some time trans-
" acted by papers, and thereby subject to delays,
" Monsr. Mesnager was at length sent over by
" France, and had signed those preliminaries now
" communicated to them: That the several articles
" did not, indeed, contain such particular conces-
" sions as France must and will make in the course
" of a treaty; but that however, her majesty
" thought them a sufficient foundation whereon to
" open the general conferences.

" That her majesty was unwilling to be charged
" with determining the several interests of her allies,
" and therefore contented herself with such general
" offers, as might include all the particular de-
" mands, proper to be made during the treaty;
" where the confederates must resolve to adhere
" firmly together, in order to obtain from the
" enemy the utmost that could be hoped for in the
" present circumstances of affairs; which rule, her
" majesty assured the States, she would, on her
" part, firmly observe."

If the ministers of Holland should express any uneasiness, that her majesty may have settled the interests of her own kingdoms, in a future peace, by any private agreement; the ambassador was ordered to say, " That the queen had
" hitherto refused to have the treaty carried on in
" her own kingdom, and would continue to do so,
" unless they (the Dutch) constrained her to take
" another measure: That by these means, the
" States, and the rest of the allies, would have the

" opportunity

" opportunity of treating and adjuſting their differ-
" ent pretenſions; which her majeſty would pro-
" mote with all the zeal ſhe had ſhewn for the
" common good, and the particular advantage of
" that republick, (as they muſt do her the juſtice
" to confeſs) in the whole courſe of her reign:
" That the queen had made no ſtipulation for her-
" ſelf, which might clash with the intereſts of Hol-
" land: And that the articles to be inſerted in a
" future treaty, for the benefit of Britain, were,
" for the moſt part, ſuch as contained advantages,
" which muſt either be continued to the enemy,
" or be obtained by her majeſty; but, however,
" that no conceſſion ſhould tempt her to hearken
" to a peace, unleſs her good friends and allies, the
" States General, had all reaſonable ſatisfaction as
" to their trade and barrier, as well as in all other
" reſpects."

After theſe aſſurances given in the queen's name, the earl was to inſinuate, " That her majeſty
" ſhould have juſt reaſon to be offended, and to
" think the proceeding between her and the States
" very unequal, if they ſhould pretend to have any
" farther uneaſineſs upon this head: That being
" determined to accept no advantages to herſelf re-
" pugnant to their intereſts, nor any peace with-
" out their reaſonable ſatisfaction, the figure ſhe
" had made during the whole courſe of the war,
" and the part ſhe had acted ſuperior to any of the
" allies, who were more concerned in danger and
" intereſt, might juſtly entitle her to ſettle the con-
" cerns of Great Britain, before ſhe would conſent
" to a general negociation."

If the States ſhould object the engagements the queen was under by treaties, of making no peace but in concert with them, or the particular obligations of the Barrier-treaty; the ambaſſador was to anſwer, "That as to the former, her majeſty had "not in any ſort acted contrary thereto: That ſhe "was ſo far from making a peace without their "conſent, as to declare her firm reſolution not to "make it without their ſatisfaction; and that what "had paſſed between France and her, amounted "to no more than an introduction to a general "treaty." As to the latter, the earl had orders to repreſent very earneſtly, "How much it was "even for the intereſt of Holland itſelf, rather to "compound the advantage of the Barrier-treaty, "than to inſiſt upon the whole, which the houſe "of Auſtria, and ſeveral other allies, would never "conſent to: That nothing could be more odious "to the people of England than many parts of this "treaty; which would have raiſed univerſal in-"dignation, if the utmoſt care had not been taken "to quiet the minds of thoſe who were acquainted "with the terms of that guaranty, and to conceal "them from thoſe who were not: That it was ab-"ſolutely neceſſary to maintain a good harmony "between both nations, without which it would "be impoſſible at any time to form a ſtrength for "reducing an exorbitant power, or preſerving the "balance of Europe; whence it followed, that it "could not be the true intereſt of either country, "to inſiſt upon any conditions, which might give "juſt apprehenſion to the other.

"That

"That France had propoſed Utrecht, Nimeguen, "Aix, or Liege, wherein to hold the general "treaty; and her majeſty was ready to ſend her "plenipotentiaries to whichever of thoſe towns the "States ſhould approve."

If the Imperial miniſters, or thoſe of the other allies, ſhould object againſt the preliminaries as no ſufficient ground for opening the conferences, and inſiſt that France ſhould conſent to ſuch articles as were ſigned on the part of the allies in the year 1709; the earl of Strafford was, in anſwer, directed to inſinuate, "That the French might have pro-"bably been brought to explain themſelves more "particularly, had they not perceived the un-"eaſineſs, impatience, and jealouſy among the "allies, during our tranſactions with that court." However, he ſhould declare to them, in the queen's name, "That, if they were determined to accept "of peace upon no terms inferior to what was for-"merly demanded, her majeſty was ready to con-"cur with them; but would no longer bear thoſe "diſproportions of expence yearly increaſed upon "her, nor the deficiency of the confederates in "every part of the war: That it was therefore in-"cumbent upon them to furniſh, for the future, "ſuch quotas of ſhips and forces as they were now "wanting in, and to increaſe their expence, while "her majeſty reduced hers to a reaſonable and juſt "proportion."

That, if the miniſters of Vienna and Holland ſhould urge their inability upon this head, the queen inſiſted, "They ought to comply with her in "war or in peace; her majeſty deſiring nothing as to

" the firſt, but what they ought to perform, and
" what is abſolutely neceſſary: and as to the latter,
" that ſhe had done, and would continue to do,
" the utmoſt in her power towards obtaining ſuch
" a peace, as might be to the ſatisfaction of all her
" allies."

Some days after the earl of Strafford's departure to Holland, Monſ. Buys, penſionary of Amſterdam, arrived here from thence, with inſtructions from his maſters, to treat upon the ſubject of the French preliminaries, and the methods for carrying on the war. In his firſt conference with a committee of council, he objected againſt all the articles, as too general and uncertain; and againſt ſome of them, as prejudicial. He ſaid, " The
" French promiſing that trade ſhould be re-eſta-
" bliſhed and maintained for the future, was
" meant in order to deprive the Dutch of their
" tariff of 1604; for the plenipotentiaries of that
" crown would certainly expound the word *reta-*
" *blir*, to ſignify no more than reſtoring the trade
" of the States to the condition it was in imme-
" diately before the commencement of the preſent
" war." He ſaid, " That in the article of Dun-
" kirk, the deſtruction of the harbour was not
" mentioned; and that the fortifications were only
" to be razed upon condition of an equivalent,
" which might occaſion a difference between her
" majeſty and the States; ſince Holland would
" think it hard to have a town leſs in their barrier
" for the demolition of Dunkirk; and England
" would complain, to have this thorn continue in
" their

" their ſide, for the ſake of giving one town more " to the Dutch."

Laſtly, he objected, " That where the French " promiſed effectual methods ſhould be taken to " prevent the union of France and Spain under the " ſame king, they offered nothing at all for the " ceſſion of Spain, which was the moſt important " point of the war.

" For theſe reaſons, Monſ. Buys hoped her ma- " jeſty would alter her meaſures, and demand ſpe- " cific articles, upon which the allies might debate, " whether they would conſent to a negociation or " not.

The queen, who looked upon all theſe difficulties raiſed about the method of treating, as endeavours to wreſt the negociation out of her hands, commanded the lords of the committee to let Monſ. Buys know, " That the experience ſhe formerly " had, of proceeding by particular preliminaries " towards a general treaty, gave her no encourage- " ment to repeat the ſame method any more: " That ſuch a preliminary treaty muſt be negociated " either by ſome particular allies, or by all; the " firſt, her majeſty could never ſuffer, ſince ſhe " would neither take upon her to ſettle the intereſt " of others, nor ſubmit that others ſhould ſettle " thoſe of her own kingdoms; as to the ſecond, it " was liable to Monſ. Buys's objection, becauſe " the miniſters of France would have as fair an " opportunity of ſowing diviſion among the " allies, when they were all aſſembled upon a pre- " liminary treaty, as when the conferences were " open for a negociation of peace: That this me-

" thod could therefore have no other effect than to " delay the treaty, without any advantage: That " her majeſty was heartily diſpoſed, both then, " and during the negociation, to inſiſt on every " thing neceſſary for ſecuring the barrier and com- " merce of the States; and therefore hoped the " conferences might be opened, without farther " difficulties.

" That her majeſty did not only conſent, but " deſire, to have a plan ſettled for carrying on the " war, as ſoon as the negociation of peace ſhould " begin; but expected to have the burden more " equally laid, and more * agreeable to treaties: and " would join with the States in preſſing the allies " to perform their parts, as ſhe had endeavoured " to animate them by her example."

Monſ. Buys ſeemed to know little of his maſters' mind, and pretended he had no power to conclude upon any thing. Her majeſty's miniſter propoſed to him an alliance between the two nations, to ſubſiſt after a peace. To this he hearkened very readily; and offered to take the matter *ad referendum*, having authority to do no more. His intention was, that he might appear to negociate, in order to gain time to pick out, if poſſible, the whole ſecret of the tranſactions between Britain and France; to diſcloſe nothing himſelf, nor bind his maſters to any conditions; to ſeek delays till the parliament met, and then obſerve what turn it took, and what would be the iſſue of thoſe frequent cabals between himſelf and ſome other foreign mi-

* It ſhould be—' more *agreeably* to treaties,' to correſpond with the other adverb—' more *equally*.'

niſters,

niſters, in conjunction with the chief leaders of the diſcontented faction.

The Dutch hoped, that the clamours raiſed againſt the proceedings of the queen's miniſters towards a peace, would make the parliament diſapprove what had been done; whereby the States would be at the head of the negociation, which the queen did not think fit to have any more in their hands, where it had miſcarried twice already; although prince Eugene himſelf owned, "That "France was then diſpoſed to conclude a peace "upon ſuch conditions, that it was not worth the "life of a grenadier to refuſe them." As to inſiſting upon ſpecific preliminaries, her majeſty thought her own method much better, "for each ally, in "the courſe of the negociation, to advance and "manage his own pretenſions, wherein ſhe would "ſupport and aſſiſt them:" rather than for two miniſters of one ally, to treat ſolely with the enemy, and report what they pleaſed to the reſt, as was practiſed by the Dutch at Gertruydenberg.

One part of Monſ. Buys's inſtructions was, "To "deſire the queen not to be ſo far amuſed by a "treaty of peace, as to neglect her preparation for "war againſt the next campaign." Her majeſty, who was firmly reſolved againſt ſubmitting any longer to that unequal burthen of expence ſhe had hitherto lain under, commanded Mr. ſecretary St. John to debate the matter with that miniſter; who ſaid, "He had no power to treat;" only inſiſted, "that his maſters had fully done their part; and "that nothing but exhortations could be uſed, to

"prevail

" prevail on the other allies to act with greater vi-
" gour."

On the other ſide, the queen refuſed to concert any plan for the proſecution of the war, till the States would join with her in agreeing to open the conferences of peace; which, therefore, by Monſ. Buys's application to them, was accordingly done, by a reſolution taken in Holland upon the 21ſt of November, 1711, N. S.

About this time the count De Gallas was forbid the court, by order from the queen; who ſent him word, " that ſhe looked upon him no longer as a " public miniſter."

This gentleman thought fit to act a very diſhonourable part here in England, altogether inconſiſtent with the character he bore of envoy from the late and preſent emperors; two princes under the ſtricteſt ties of gratitude to the queen, eſpecially the latter, who had then the title of king of Spain. Count Gallas, about the end of Auguſt, 1711, with the utmoſt privacy, diſpatched an Italian, one of his clerks, to Franckfort, where the earl of Peterborough was then expected. This man was inſtructed to paſs for a Spaniard, and inſinuate himſelf into the earl's ſervice; which he accordingly did, and gave conſtant information to the laſt emperor's ſecretary at Franckfort, of all he could gather up in his lordſhip's family, as well as copies of ſeveral letters he had tranſcribed. It was likewiſe diſcovered that Gallas had, in his diſpatches to the preſent emperor, then in Spain, repreſented the queen and her miniſters as not to be confided in:

" That

" That when her majeſty had diſmiſſed the earl of " Sunderland, ſhe promiſed to proceed no farther " in the change of her ſervants; yet ſoon after " turned them all out, and thereby ruined the pub- " lic credit, as well as abandoned Spain: That the " preſent miniſters wanted the abilities and good " diſpoſitions of the former; were perſons of ill " deſigns, and enemies to the common cauſe, and " he (Gallas) could not truſt them." In his letters to count Zinzendorf, he ſaid, " That Mr. ſecretary " St. John complained of the houſe of Auſtria's " backwardneſs, only to make the king of Spain " odious to England, and the people here deſirous " of a peace, although it were ever ſo bad;" to prevent which, count Gallas drew up a memorial which he intended to give the queen, and tranſmitted a draught of it to Zinzendorf for his advice and approbation. This memorial, among other great promiſes to encourage the continuance of the war, propoſed the detaching of a good body of troops from Hungary, to ſerve in Italy or Spain, as the queen ſhould think fit.

Zinzendorf thought this too bold a ſtep, without conſulting the emperor: to which Gallas replied, " That his deſign was only to engage the queen to " go on with the war: That Zinzendorf knew how " earneſtly the Engliſh and Dutch had preſſed to " have theſe troops from Hungary; and therefore " they ought to be promiſed, in order to quiet " thoſe two nations; after which, ſeveral ways " might be found to elude that promiſe; and in " the mean time, the great point would be gained,

" of

" of bringing the Engliſh to declare for continuing " the war: That the emperor might afterwards ex- " cuſe himſelf, by the apprehenſion of a war in " Hungary, or of that between the Turks and " Muſcovites. That if theſe excuſes ſhould be at an " end, a detachment of one or two regiments " might be ſent, and the reſt deferred by pretend- " ing want of money; by which the queen would " probably be brought to maintain ſome part of " thoſe troops, and perhaps the whole body." He added, " That this way of management was " very common among the allies;" and gave for an example, the forces which the Dutch had promiſed for the ſervice of Spain, but were never ſent; with ſeveral other inſtances of the ſame kind, which, he ſaid, might be produced.

Her majeſty, who had long ſuſpected that count Gallas was engaged in theſe and the like practices, having at laſt received authentic proofs of this whole intrigue, from original letters, and the voluntary confeſſion of thoſe who were principally concerned in carrying it on, thought it neceſſary to ſhew her reſentment, by refuſing the count any more acceſs to her perſon or her court.

Although the queen, as it has been already obſerved, was reſolved to open the conferences upon the general preliminaries; yet ſhe thought it would very much forward the peace, to know what were the utmoſt conceſſions which France would make to the ſeveral allies, but eſpecially to the States General, and the duke of Savoy. Therefore, while her majeſty was preſſing the former to agree to a general

general treaty, the abbé Gualtier was ſent to France, with a memorial, to deſire that the moſt Chriſtian king would explain himſelf upon thoſe preliminaries, particularly with relation to Savoy and Holland, whoſe ſatisfaction the queen had moſt at heart; as well from her friendſhip to both theſe powers, as becauſe, if ſhe might engage to them that their juſt pretenſions would be allowed, few difficulties would remain, of any moment, to retard the general peace.

The French anſwer to this memorial contained ſeveral ſchemes and propoſals for the ſatisfaction of each ally, coming up very near to what her majeſty and her miniſters thought reaſonable. The greateſt difficulties ſeemed to be about the elector of Bavaria, for whoſe intereſt France appeared to be as much concerned, as the queen was for thoſe of the duke of Savoy. However, thoſe were judged not very hard to be ſurmounted.

The States having at length agreed to a general treaty, the following particulars were concerted between her majeſty and that republick:

" That the congreſs ſhould be held at Utrecht.

" That the opening of the congreſs ſhould be " upon the 12th of January, N. S. 1711-12.

" That, for avoiding all inconveniences of ce- " remony, the miniſters of the queen and States, " during the treaty, ſhould only have the characters " of plenipotentiaries, and not take that of ambaſ- " ſadors, till the day on which the peace ſhould be " ſigned.

" Laſtly,

" Laſtly, The queen and States inſiſted, that " the miniſters of the duke of Anjou, and the late " electors of Bavaria and Cologne, ſhould not ap- " pear at the congreſs, until the points relating to " their maſters were adjuſted; and were firmly re- " ſolved not to ſend their paſſports for the miniſters " of France, till the moſt Chriſtian king declared, " that the abſence of the forementioned miniſters " ſhould not delay the progreſs of the negocia- " tion."

Purſuant to the three former articles, her majeſty wrote circular letters to all the allies engaged with her in the preſent war; and France had notice, " That, as ſoon as the king declared his compliance " with the laſt article, the blank paſſports ſhould be " filled up with the names of the mareſchal " D'Uxelles, the abbé De Polignac, and Monſ. " Meſnager, who were appointed plenipotentiaries " for that crown."

From what I have hitherto deduced, the reader ſees the plan which the queen thought the moſt effectual for advancing a peace. As the conferences were to begin upon the general preliminaries, the queen was to be empowered by France, to offer ſeparately to the allies, what might be reaſonable for each to accept; and her own intereſts being previouſly ſettled, ſhe was to act as a general mediator; a figure that became her beſt, from the part ſhe had in the war, and more uſeful to the great end at which ſhe aimed, of giving a ſafe and honourable peace to Europe.

Beſides,

Beſides, it was abſolutely neceſſary for the intereſts of Britain, that the queen ſhould be at the head of the negociation; without which, her majeſty could find no expedient to redreſs the injuries her kingdoms were ſure to ſuffer by the Barrier-treaty. In order to ſettle this point with the States, the miniſters here had a conference with Monſ. Buys, a few days before the parliament met. He was told, "How neceſſary it was, by a previous "concert between the emperor, the queen, and "the States, to prevent any difference which "might ariſe in the courſe of the treaty at Utrecht: "That under pretence of a barrier for the States "General, as their ſecurity againſt France, infinite "prejudice might ariſe to the trade of Britain in "the Spaniſh Netherlands; for, by the fifteenth "article of the Barrier-treaty, in conſequence of "what was ſtipulated by that of Munſter, the "queen was brought to engage that commerce "ſhall not be rendered more eaſy, in point of du-"ties, by the ſea-ports of Flanders, than it is by "the river Scheld, and by the canals on the ſide "of the Seven Provinces; which, as things now "ſtood, was very unjuſt; for, while the towns in "Flanders were in the hands of France or Spain, "the Dutch and we traded to them upon equal "foot; but now, ſince by the Barrier-treaty thoſe "towns were to be poſſeſſed by the States, that re-"publick might lay what duties they pleaſed upon "Britiſh goods, after paſſing by Oſtend, and make "their own cuſtom-free, which would utterly ruin "our whole trade with Flanders."

Upon this, the lords told M. Buys very frankly, "That, if the States expected the queen ſhould "ſupport their barrier, as their demands from "France and the houſe of Auſtria upon that head, "they ought to agree that the ſubjects of Britain "ſhould trade as freely to all the countries and "places, which, by virtue of any former or future "treaty, were to become the barrier of the States, "as they did in the time of the late king Charles "the Second of Spain, or as the ſubjects of the "States General themſelves ſhall do: and that it "was hoped, their High-mightineſſes would never "ſcruple to rectify a miſtake ſo injurious to that "nation, without whoſe blood and treaſure they "would have had no barrier at all." Monſ. Buys had nothing to anſwer againſt theſe objections; but ſaid, "He had already * wrote to his maſters "for farther inſtructions."

Greater difficulties occurred about ſettling what ſhould be the barrier to the States after a peace: the envoy inſiſting to have all the towns that were named in the treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion; and the queen's miniſters excepting thoſe towns, which, if they continued in the hands of the Dutch, would render the trade of Britain to Flanders precarious. At length it was agreed in general, that the States ought to have what is really eſſential to the ſecurity of their barrier againſt France; and that ſome amicable expedient ſhould be found, for removing

* He had already wrote, &c. It ſhould be—he had already written, &c.

the

the fears both of Britain and Holland upon this point.

But at the ſame time Monſ. Buys was told, "That, although the queen would certainly inſiſt "to obtain all thoſe points from France, in behalf "of her allies, the States; yet ſhe hoped his maſ-"ters were too reaſonable to break off the treaty, "rather than not obtain the very utmoſt of their "demands, which could not be ſettled here, unleſs "he were fully inſtructed to ſpeak and conclude "upon that ſubject: That her majeſty thought the "beſt way of ſecuring the common intereſt, and "preventing the diviſion of the allies, by the ar-"tifices of France, in the courſe of a long nego-"ciation, would be, to concert between the queen's "miniſters and thoſe of the States, with a due re-"gard to the other confederates, ſuch a plan, as "might amount to a ſafe and honourable peace. "After which, the abbé Polignac, who, of the "French plenipotentiaries, was moſt in the ſecret "of his court, might be told, that it was in vain "to amuſe each other any longer; that on ſuch "terms the peace would be immediately concluded; "and that the conferences muſt ceaſe, if thoſe con-"ditions were not, without delay, and with expe-"dition, granted."

A treaty between her majeſty and the States, to ſubſiſt after a peace, was now ſigned, Monſ. Buys having received full powers to that purpoſe. His maſters were deſirous to have a private article added, *ſub ſpe rati*, concerning thoſe terms of peace; without the granting of which, we ſhould ſtipulate

not to agree with the enemy. But neither the character of Buys, nor the manner in which he was empowered to treat, would allow the queen to enter into ſuch an engagement. The congreſs likewiſe approaching, there was not time to ſettle a point of ſo great importance. Neither, laſtly, would her majeſty be tied down by Holland, without previous ſatisfaction upon ſeveral articles in the Barrier-treaty, ſo inconſiſtent with her engagements to other powers in the alliance, and ſo injurious to her own kingdoms.

The lord privy ſeal and the earl of Strafford, having, about the time the parliament met, been appointed her majeſty's plenipotentiaries for treating a general peace: I ſhall here break off the account of any farther progreſs made in that great affair, until I reſume it in the laſt book of this Hiſtory.

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN.

BOOK III.

THE houſe of commons ſeemed reſolved, from the beginning of the ſeſſion, to inquire ſtrictly, not only into all abuſes relating to the accounts of the army, but likewiſe into the ſeveral treaties between us and our allies, upon what articles and conditions they were firſt agreed to, and how theſe had been ſince obſerved. In the firſt week of their ſitting, they ſent an addreſs to the queen, to deſire that the treaty, whereby her majeſty was obliged to furniſh forty thouſand men, to act in conjunction with the forces of her allies in the Low Countries, might be laid before the houſe. To which the ſecretary of ſtate brought an anſwer, " That ſearch had been made, but

" no footſteps could be found of any treaty or " convention for that purpoſe." It was this unaccountable neglect in the former miniſtry, which firſt gave a pretence to the allies for leſſening their quotas, ſo much to the diſadvantage of her majeſty, her kingdoms, and the common cauſe, in the courſe of the war. It had been ſtipulated, by the grand alliance between the emperor, Britain, and the States, " That thoſe three ſtates ſhould aſſiſt " each other with their whole force; and that the " ſeveral proportions ſhould be ſpecified in a par- " ticular convention." But if any ſuch convention were made, it was never ratified; only the parties agreed, by common conſent, to take each a certain ſhare of the burden upon themſelves, which the late king William communicated to the houſe of commons by his ſecretary of ſtate; and which afterwards, the other two powers, obſerving the mighty zeal in our miniſtry for prolonging the war, eluded as they pleaſed.

The commiſſioners for ſtating the public accompts of the kingdom, had, in executing their office the preceding ſummer, diſcovered ſeveral practices relating to the affairs of the army; which they drew up in a report, and delivered to the houſe.

The commons began their examination of the report with a member of their own, Mr. Robert Walpole, already mentioned, who, during his being ſecretary at war, had received five hundred guineas, and taken a note for five hundred pounds more, on account of two contracts for forage of the

the queen's troops quartered in Scotland. He endeavoured to excuſe the firſt contract; but had nothing to ſay about the ſecond. The firſt appeared ſo plain and ſo ſcandalous to the commons, that they voted the author of it guilty of a high breach of truſt, and notorious corruption, committed him priſoner to the Tower, where he continued to the end of the ſeſſion, and expelled him the houſe. He was a perſon much careſſed by the oppoſers of the queen and miniſtry; having been firſt drawn into their party, by his indifference to any principles, and afterwards, kept ſteady by the loſs of his place. His bold, forward countenance, altogether a ſtranger to that infirmity which makes men baſhful, joined to a readineſs of ſpeaking in public, has juſtly entitled him, among thoſe of his faction, to be a ſort of leader of the ſecond form. The reader muſt excuſe me for being ſo particular about one, who is otherwiſe altogether obſcure.

Another part of the report concerned the duke of Marlborough, who had received large ſums of money, by way of gratuity, from thoſe who were the undertakers for providing the army with bread. This the duke excuſed, in a letter to the commiſſioners, from the like practice of other generals: but that excuſe appeared to be of little weight, and the miſchievous conſequences of ſuch a corruption were viſible enough; ſince the money given by theſe undertakers, were but bribes for connivance at their indirect dealings with the army. And, as frauds, that begin at the top, are apt to ſpread

through all the ſubordinate ranks of thoſe who have any ſhare in the management, and to increaſe as they circulate; ſo, in this caſe, for every thouſand pounds given to the general, the ſoldiers at leaſt ſuffered fourfold.

Another article of this report, relating to the duke, was yet of more importance. The greateſt part of her majeſty's forces in Flanders, were mercenary troops, hired from ſeveral princes of Europe. It was found that the queen's general ſubtracted two and a half *per cent.* out of the pay of thoſe troops, for his own uſe, which amounted to a great annual ſum. The duke of Marlborough, in his letter already mentioned, endeavouring to extenuate the matter, told the commiſſioners, "That "this deduction was a free gift from the foreign "troops, which he had negociated with them by "the late king's orders, and had obtained the "queen's warrant for reſerving and receiving it: "That it was intended for ſecret ſervice, the ten "thouſand pounds a year given by parliament not "proving ſufficient; and had all been laid out "that way." The commiſſioners obſerved, in anſwer, "That the warrant was kept dormant for "nine years, as indeed no entry of it appeared in "the ſecretary of ſtate's books, and the deduction "of it concealed all that time from the knowledge "of parliament: That if it had been a free gift from "the foreign troops, it would not have been ſtipu-"lated by agreement, as the duke's letter con-"feſſed, and as his warrant declared; which latter "affirmed this ſtoppage to be intended for defray-

" ing extraordinary contingent expences of the " troops, and therefore ſhould not have been ap- " plied to ſecret ſervices." They ſubmitted to the houſe, whether the warrant itſelf were legal, or duly counterſigned. The commiſſioners added, " That no receipt was ever given for this deduct- " ed money; nor was it mentioned in any receipts " from the foreign troops, which were always " taken in full. And laſtly, That the whole ſum, " on computation, amounted to near three hun- " dred thouſand pounds."

The houſe, after a long debate, reſolved, " That " the taking ſeveral ſums from the contractors for " bread for the duke of Marlborough, was un- " warrantable and illegal; and that the two and a " half *per cent.* deducted from the foreign troops, " was public money, and ought to be accounted " for:" which reſolutions were laid before the queen by the whole houſe, and her majeſty promiſed to do her part in redreſſing what was complained of. The duke and his friends had, about the beginning of the war, by their credit with the queen, procured a warrant from her majeſty for this perquiſite of two and a half *per cent.* The warrant was directed to the duke of Marlborough, and counter-ſigned by Sir Charles Hedges, then ſecretary of ſtate; by virtue of which, the pay-maſter-general of the army was to pay the ſaid deducted money to the general, and take a receipt in full from the foreign troops.

It was obſerved, as very commendable and becoming the dignity of ſuch an aſſembly, that this

debate was managed with great temper, and with few perſonal reflections upon the duke of Marlborough. They ſeemed only deſirous to come at the truth, without which, they could not anſwer the truſt repoſed in them by thoſe whom they repreſented; and left the reſt to her majeſty's prudence. The attorney-general was ordered to commence an action againſt the duke for the ſubtracted money; which would have amounted to a great ſum, enough to ruin any private perſon, except himſelf. This proceſs is ſtill depending, although very moderately purſued, either by the queen's indulgence to one whom ſhe had formerly ſo much truſted; or, perhaps, to be revived or ſlackened, according to the future demeanour of the defendant.

Some time after, Mr. Cardonell, a member of parliament, and ſecretary to the general in Flanders, was expelled the houſe, for the offence of receiving yearly bribes from thoſe who had contracted to furniſh bread for the army; and met with no farther puniſhment for a practice voted to be unwarrantable and corrupt.

Theſe were all the cenſures of any moment, which the commons, under ſo great a weight of buſineſs, thought fit to make, upon the reports of their commiſſioners for inſpecting the public accompts. But having promiſed, in the beginning of this Hiſtory, to examine the ſtate of the nation, with reſpect to its debts; by what negligence or corruption they firſt began, and in proceſs of time made ſuch a prodigious increaſe; and laſtly, what

what courſes have been taken, under the preſent adminiſtration, to find out funds for anſwering ſo many unprovided incumbrances, as well as put a ſtop to new ones; I ſhall endeavour to ſatisfy the reader upon this important article.

By all I have yet read of the hiſtory of our own country, it appears to me, that the national debts, ſecured upon parliamentary funds of intereſt, were things unknown in England, before the laſt revolution under the prince of Orange. It is true, that in the grand rebellion the king's enemies borrowed money of particular perſons, upon what they called the public faith; but this was only for ſhort periods, and the ſums no more than what they could pay at once, as they conſtantly did. Some of our kings have been very profuſe in peace and war, and are blamed in hiſtory for their oppreſſions of the people by ſevere taxes, and for borrowing money which they never paid: but *national debts* was a ſtyle, which, I doubt, would hardly then be underſtood. When the prince of Orange was raiſed to the throne, and a general war began in theſe parts of Europe, the king and his counſellors thought it would be ill policy to commence his reign with heavy taxes upon the people, who had lived long in eaſe and plenty, and might be apt to think their deliverance too dearly bought: wherefore one of the firſt actions of the new government was, to take off the tax upon chimnies, as a burden very ungrateful to the commonalty. But money being wanted to ſupport the war, (which even the convention-parliament, that put the crown upon

upon his head, were very unwilling he ſhould engage in) the preſent biſhop of Saliſbury *, is ſaid to have found out that expedient (which he had learned in Holland) of raiſing money upon the ſecurity of taxes, that were only ſufficient to pay a large intereſt. The motives which prevailed on people to fall in with this project, were many, and plauſible; for, ſuppoſing, as the miniſters induſtriouſly gave out, that the war could not laſt above one or two campaigns at moſt, it might be carried on with very moderate taxes; and the debts accruing would, in proceſs of time, be eaſily cleared after a peace. Then the bait of large intereſt would draw in a great number of thoſe, whoſe money, by the danger and difficulties of trade, lay dead upon their hands; and whoever were lenders to the government, would, by ſureſt principle, be obliged to ſupport it. Beſides, the men of eſtates could not be perſuaded, without time and difficulty, to have thoſe taxes laid on their lands, which cuſtom has ſince made ſo familiar: and it was the buſineſs of ſuch as were then in power, to cultivate a monied intereſt; becauſe the gentry of the kingdom did not very much reliſh thoſe new notions in government, to which the king, who had imbibed his politicks in his own country, was thought to give too much way. Neither, perhaps, did that prince think national incumbrances to be any evil at all; ſince the flouriſhing republick where he was born, is thought to owe more than ever it will be able, or willing to

* Dr. Gilbert Burnet.

pay.

pay. And I remember, when I mentioned to Monſ. Buys the many millions we owed, he would advance it as a maxim, "That it was for the in-"tereſt of the publick to be in debt;" which, perhaps, may be true in a commonwealth ſo crazily inſtituted, where the governors cannot have too many pledges of their ſubjects fidelity, and where a great majority muſt inevitably be undone by any revolution, however brought about. But to preſcribe the ſame rules to a monarchy, whoſe wealth ariſes from the rents and improvements of lands, as well as trade and manufactures, is the mark of a confined and cramped underſtanding.

I was moved to ſpeak thus, becauſe I am very well ſatisfied that the pernicious counſels of borrowing money upon public funds of intereſt, as well as ſome other ſtate-leſſons, were taken indigeſted from the like practices among the Dutch, without allowing in the leaſt for any difference in government, religion, law, cuſtom, extent of country, or manners and diſpoſitions of the people.

But when this expedient of anticipations and mortgages, was firſt put in practice, artful men, in office and credit, began to conſider what uſes it might be applied to; and ſoon found it was likely to prove the moſt fruitful ſeminary, not only to eſtabliſh a faction they intended to ſet up for their own ſupport, but likewiſe to raiſe vaſt wealth for themſelves in particular, who were to be the managers and directors in it. It was manifeſt, that nothing could promote theſe two deſigns ſo much, as burdening the nation with debts, and giving

encouragement

encouragement to lenders: for, as to the firſt, it was not to be doubted that monied men would be always firm to the party of thoſe, who adviſed the borrowing upon ſuch good ſecurity, and with ſuch exorbitant premiums and intereſt; and every new ſum that was lent, took away as much power from the landed men, as it added to theirs: ſo that, the deeper the kingdom was engaged, it was ſtill the better for them. Thus a new eſtate and property ſprung up in the hands of mortgagees, to whom every houſe and foot of land in England paid a rent-charge, free of all taxes and defalcations, and purchaſed at leſs than half value. So that the gentlemen of eſtates were, in effect, but tenants to theſe new landlords; many of whom were able, in time, to force the election of boroughs out of the hands of thoſe who had been the old proprietors and inhabitants. This was arrived at ſuch a height, that a very few years more of war and funds, would have clearly caſt the balance on the monied ſide.

As to the ſecond, this project of borrowing upon funds, was of mighty advantage to thoſe who were in the management of it, as well as to their friends and dependants; for, funds proving often deficient, the government was obliged to ſtrike tallies for making up the reſt; which tallies were ſometimes (to ſpeak in the merchants phraſe) at above forty *per cent.* diſcount. At this price, thoſe who were in the ſecret bought them up, and then took care to have that deficiency ſupplied in the next ſeſſion of parliament; by which they doubled their

principal

principal in a few months: and for the encouragement of lenders, every new project of lotteries or annuities, propoſed ſome farther advantage, either as to intereſt or premium.

In the year 1697, a general mortgage was made of certain revenues and taxes already ſettled, which amounted to near a million a year. This mortgage was to continue till 1706, to be a fund for the payment of above five millions one hundred thouſand pounds. In the firſt parliament of the queen, the ſaid mortgage was continued till 1710, to ſupply a deficiency of two millions three hundred thouſand pounds, and intereſt of above a million; and in the intermediate years a great part of that fund was branched out into annuities for ninety-nine years: ſo that the late miniſtry raiſed all their money, to 1710, only by continuing funds, which were already granted to their hands. This deceived the people in general, who were ſatisfied to continue the payments they had been accuſtomed to; and made the adminiſtration ſeem eaſy, ſince the war went on without any new taxes raiſed, except the very laſt year they were in power; not conſidering what a mighty fund was exhauſted, and muſt be perpetuated, although extremely injurious to trade, and to the true intereſt of the nation.

This great fund of the general mortgage, was not only loaded, year after year, by mighty ſums borrowed upon it, but with the intereſt due upon thoſe ſums: for which the treaſury was forced to ſtrike tallies, payable out of that fund, after all the money

money already borrowed upon it, there being no other proviſion of intereſt for three or four years; till at laſt, the fund was ſo overloaded, that it could neither pay principal nor intereſt; and tallies were ſtruck for both, which occaſioned their great diſcount.

But, to avoid miſtakes upon a ſubject where I am not very well verſed either in the ſtyle or matter, I will tranſcribe an account ſent me by Sir John Blunt, who is thoroughly inſtructed in theſe affairs:

" In the year 1707, the ſum of eight hundred " twenty-two thouſand three hundred and eighty- " one pounds, fifteen ſhillings, and ſix pence, was " raiſed, by continuing part of the general mort- " gage from 1710 to 1712; but with no proviſion " of intereſt till Auguſt the firſt, 1710, otherwiſe " than by ſtriking tallies for it on that fund, pay- " able after all the other money borrowed.

" In 1708, the ſame funds were continued from " 1712 to 1714, to raiſe ſeven hundred twenty- " nine thouſand ſixty-ſeven pounds, fifteen ſhil- " lings, and ſix pence; but no proviſion for in- " tereſt till Auguſt the firſt, 1712, otherwiſe than " as before, by ſtriking tallies for it on the ſame " fund, payable after all the reſt of the money " borrowed. And the diſcount of tallies then be- " ginning to riſe, great part of that money re- " mained unraiſed; and there is nothing to pay " intereſt for the money lent, till Auguſt the firſt, " 1712. But the late lord treaſurer ſtruck tallies " for the full ſum directed by the act to be bor-

" rowed;

" rowed; great part of which have been delivered " in payment to the navy and victualing-offices; " and ſome are ſtill in the hands of the govern- " ment.

" In 1709, part of the ſame fund was continued " from Auguſt the firſt, 1714, to Auguſt the firſt, " 1716, to raiſe ſix hundred forty-five thouſand " pounds; and no proviſion for intereſt till Au- " guſt the firſt, 1714 (which was about five years), " but by borrowing money on the ſame fund, " payable after the ſums before lent; ſo that little " of that money was lent. But the tallies were " ſtruck for what was unlent; ſome of which " were given out for the payment of the navy and " victualing; and ſome ſtill remain in the hands of " the government.

" In 1710, the ſums which were before given " from 1714 to 1716 were continued from thence " to 1720, to raiſe one million two hundred " ninety-ſix thouſand five hundred and fifty-two " pounds, nine ſhillings, and eleven pence three " farthings; and no immediate proviſion for in- " tereſt till Auguſt the firſt, 1716: only, after the " duty of one ſhilling *per* buſhel on ſalt ſhould be " cleared from the money it was then charged " with, and which was not ſo cleared till Mid- " ſummer 1712 laſt; then that fund was to be " applied to pay the intereſt till Auguſt the firſt, " 1716; which intereſt amounted to about ſeventy- " ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-three " pounds *per annum:* and the ſaid ſalt fund pro- " duced but about fifty-five thouſand pounds *per*

" *annum:*

" *annum:* ſo that no money was borrowed upon
" the general mortgage in 1710, except one hun-
" dred and fifty thouſand pounds lent by the Swiſs
" Cantons; but tallies were ſtruck for the whole
" ſum. Theſe all remained in the late treaſurer's
" hands at the time of his removal; yet the money
" was expended, which occaſioned thoſe great de-
" mands upon the commiſſioners of the treaſury
" who ſucceeded him, and were forced to pawn
" thoſe tallies to the Bank, or to remitters, rather
" than ſell them at twenty or twenty-five *per cent.*
" diſcount, as the price then was. About two
" hundred thouſand pounds of them they paid to
" clothiers of the army, and others; and all the
" reſt, being above ninety thouſand pounds, have
" been ſubſcribed into the South-ſea Company, for
" the uſe of the publick.

When the earl of Godolphin was removed from his employment, he left a debt upon the navy of —— millions, all contracted under his adminiſtration, which had no parliament-ſecurity, and was daily increaſed. Neither could I ever learn, whether that lord had the ſmalleſt proſpect of clearing this incumbrance, or whether there were policy, negligence, or deſpair, at the bottom of this unaccountable management. But the conſequences were viſible and ruinous; for by this means navy-bills grew to be forty *per cent.* diſcount, and upwards; and almoſt every kind of ſtores, bought by the navy and victualing-offices, coſt the government double rates, and ſometimes more: ſo that the publick has directly loſt ſeveral millions upon this

this one article, without any ſort of neceſſity, that I could ever hear aſſigned, by the ableſt vindicators of that party.

In this oppreſſed and entangled ſtate was the kingdom, with relation to its debts, when the queen removed the earl of Godolphin from his office, and put it into commiſſion, of which the preſent treaſurer was one. This perſon had been choſen ſpeaker ſucceſſively to three parliaments, was afterwards ſecretary of ſtate, and always in great eſteem with the queen for his wiſdom and fidelity. The late miniſtry, about two years before their fall, had prevailed with her majeſty, much againſt her inclination, to diſmiſs him from her ſervice; for which they cannot be juſtly blamed, ſince he had endeavoured the ſame thing againſt them, and very narrowly failed: which makes it the more extraordinary, that he ſhould ſucceed in a ſecond attempt, againſt thoſe very adverſaries, who had ſuch fair warning by the firſt. He is firm and ſteady in his reſolutions, not eaſily diverted from them after he has once poſſeſſed himſelf of an opinion that they are right; nor very communicative where he can act by himſelf, being taught by experience, "That a ſecret is ſeldom ſafe in more "than one breaſt." That which occurs to other men after mature deliberation, offers to him as his firſt thoughts; ſo that he decides immediately what is beſt to be done, and therefore is ſeldom at a loſs upon ſudden exigencies. He thinks it a more eaſy and ſafe rule in politicks, to watch incidents as they come, and then turn them to the advantage of

what he purſues, than to pretend to foreſee them at a great diſtance. Fear, cruelty, avarice, and pride, are wholly ſtrangers to his nature; but he is not without ambition. There is one thing peculiar in his temper, which I altogether diſapprove, and do not remember to have heard or met with in any other man's character: I mean an eaſineſs and indifference under any imputation, although he be ever ſo innocent, and although the ſtrongeſt probabilities and appearances are againſt him; ſo that I have known him often ſuſpected by his neareſt friends, for ſome months, in points of the higheſt importance, to a degree that they were ready to break with him, and only undeceived by time and accident. His detractors, who charge him with cunning, are but ill-acquainted with his character; for, in the ſenſe they take the word, and as it is uſually underſtood, I know no man to whom that mean talent could be with leſs juſtice applied, as the conduct of affairs, while he has been at the helm, does clearly demonſtrate, very contrary to the nature and principles of cunning, which is always employed in ſerving little turns, propoſing little ends, and ſupplying daily exigencies, by little ſhifts and expedients. But to reſcue a prince out of the hands of inſolent ſubjects, bent upon ſuch deſigns as muſt probably end in the ruin of the government; to find out means for paying ſuch exorbitant debts as this nation hath been involved in, and reduce it to a better management; to make a potent enemy offer advantageous terms of peace, and deliver up the moſt important fortreſs of his kingdom as a ſecurity;

ſecurity; and this againſt all the oppoſition mutually raiſed and inflamed by parties and allies: ſuch performances can only be called cunning by thoſe, whoſe want of underſtanding, or of candour, puts them upon finding ill names for great qualities of the mind, which themſelves do neither poſſeſs, nor can form any juſt conception of. However, it muſt be allowed, that an obſtinate love of ſecrecy in this miniſter, ſeems, at diſtance, to have ſome reſemblance of cunning; for he is not only very retentive of ſecrets, but appears to be ſo too; which I number among his defects. He has been blamed by his friends, for refuſing to diſcover his intentions, even in thoſe points where the wiſeſt man may have need of advice and aſſiſtance; and ſome have cenſured him upon that account, as if he were jealous of power: but he has been heard to anſwer, "That he ſeldom did otherwiſe, without cauſe to repent."

However, ſo undiſtinguiſhed a caution, cannot, in my opinion, be juſtified, by which the owner loſes many advantages, and whereof all men who deſerved to be confided in, may, with ſome reaſon, complain. His love of procraſtination (wherein doubtleſs nature has her ſhare) may probably be increaſed by the ſame means; but this is an imputation laid upon many other great miniſters, who, like men under too heavy a load, let fall that which is of the leaſt conſequence, and go back to fetch it when their ſhoulders are free; for, time is often gained, as well as loſt, by delay, which, at worſt, is a fault on the ſecurer ſide. Neither probably is

this miniſter anſwerable for half the clamour raiſed againſt him upon that article: his endeavours are wholly turned upon the general welfare of his country, but perhaps with too little regard to that of particular perſons; which renders him leſs amiable, than he would otherwiſe have been, from the goodneſs of his humour, and agreeable converſation in a private capacity, and with few dependers. Yet ſome allowance may perhaps be given to this failing, which is one of the greateſt he has; ſince he cannot be more careleſs of other mens fortunes, than he is of his own. He is maſter of a very great and faithful memory; which is of mighty uſe in the management of public affairs: and I believe there are few examples to be produced, in any age, of a perſon who has paſſed through ſo many employments in the ſtate, endowed with a greater ſhare both of divine and human learning.

I am perſuaded that foreigners, as well as thoſe at home who live too remote from the ſcene of buſineſs to be rightly informed, will not be diſpleaſed with this account of a perſon, who, in the ſpace of two years, has been ſo highly inſtrumental in changing the face of affairs in Europe, and has deſerved ſo well of his own prince and country.

In that perplexed condition of the public debts which I have already deſcribed, this miniſter was brought into the treaſury and exchequer, and had the chief direction of affairs. His firſt regulation was that of exchequer-bills, which, to the great diſcouragement of public credit, and ſcandal to the crown, were three *per cent.* leſs in value than the ſums

ſums ſpecified in them. The preſent treaſurer, being then chancellor of the exchequer, procured an act of parliament, by which the Bank of England ſhould be obliged, in conſideration of forty-five thouſand pounds, to accept and circulate thoſe bills without any diſcount. He then proceeded to ſtop the depredations of thoſe who dealt in remittances of money to the army; who, by unheard-of exactions in that kind of traffick, had amaſſed prodigious wealth at the public coſt; to which the earl of Godolphin had given too much way, poſſibly by neglect, for I think he cannot be accuſed of corruption.

But the new treaſurer's chief concern was, to reſtore the credit of the nation, by finding ſome ſettlement for unprovided debts, amounting in the whole to ten millions, which hung on the public as a load equally heavy and diſgraceful, without any proſpect of being removed, and which former miniſters never had the care, or courage to inſpect. He reſolved to go at once to the bottom of this evil; and having computed and ſummed up the debt of the navy and victualing, ordnance, and tranſport of the army, and tranſport debentures made out for the ſervice of the laſt war, of the general mortgage-tallies for the year 1710, and ſome other deficiencies, he then found out a fund of intereſt ſufficient to anſwer all this; which, being applied to other uſes, could not raiſe preſent money for the war, but in a very few years would clear the debt it was engaged for. The intermediate accruing intereſt was to be paid by the treaſurer of

the navy; and as a farther advantage to the creditors, they ſhould be erected into a company for trading to the South-Seas, and for encouragement of fiſhery. When all this was fully prepared and digeſted, he made a motion in the houſe of commons (who deferred extremely to his judgment and abilities) for paying the debts of the navy and other unprovided deficiencies, without entering into particulars; which was immediately voted. But a ſudden ſtop was put to this affair by an unforeſeen accident. The chancellor of the exchequer (which was then his title) being ſtabbed with a penknife, the following day, at the Cockpit, in the midſt of a dozen lords of the council, by the ſieur de Guiſcard, a French papiſt; the circumſtances of which fact being not within the compaſs of this hiſtory, I ſhall only obſerve, that after two months confinement, and frequent danger of his life, he returned to his ſeat in parliament.

The overtures made by this miniſter, of paying ſo vaſt a debt under the preſſures of a long war, and the difficulty of finding ſupplies for continuing it, was, during the time of his illneſs, ridiculed by his enemies as an impracticable and viſionary project: and when, upon his return to the houſe, he had explained his propoſal, the very proprietors of the debt were many of them prevailed on to oppoſe it; although the obtaining this trade, either through Old Spain, or directly to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, had been one principal end we aimed at by this war. However, the bill paſſed; and, as an immediate conſequence, the navy bills roſe to about twenty

per

per cent. nor ever fell within ten of their diſcount. Another good effect of this work appeared by the parliamentary lotteries, which have been ſince erected. The laſt of that kind, under the former miniſtry, was eleven weeks in filling; whereas the firſt, under the preſent, was filled in a very few hours, although it coſt the government leſs; and the others which followed were full before the acts concerning them could paſs. And to prevent incumbrances of this kind from growing for the future, he took care, by the utmoſt parſimony, or by ſuſpending payments where they ſeemed leſs to preſs, that all ſtores for the navy ſhould be bought with ready money; by which *cent. per cent.* has been ſaved in that mighty article of our expence, as will appear from an account taken at the victualing-office on the 9th of Auguſt, 1712. And the payment of the intereſt was leſs a burden upon the navy, by the ſtores being bought at ſo cheap a rate.

It might look invidious to enter into farther particulars upon this head, but of ſmaller moment. What I have above related, may ſerve to ſhew in how ill a condition the kingdom ſtood, with relation to its debts, by the corruption, as well as negligence of former management; and what prudent effectual meaſures have ſince been taken to provide for old incumbrances, and hinder the running into new. This may be ſufficient for the information of the reader, perhaps already tired with a ſubject ſo little entertaining as that of accompts: I ſhall therefore now return to relate ſome of the

principal matters that paſſed in parliament during this ſeſſion.

Upon the 18th of January, the houſe of lords ſent down a bill to the commons, for fixing the precedence of the Hanover family, which probably had been forgot in the acts for ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown. That of Henry VIII., which gives the rank to princes of the blood, carries it no farther than to nephews, nieces, and grand-children, of the crown; by virtue of which, the princeſs Sophia is a princeſs of the blood, as niece to king Charles I. of England, and precedes accordingly; but the privilege does not deſcend to her ſon the elector, or the electoral prince. To ſupply which defect, and pay a compliment to the preſumptive heirs of the crown, this bill, as appears by the preamble, was recommended by her majeſty to the houſe of lords; which, the commons, to ſhew their zeal for every thing that might be thought to concern the intereſt or honour of that illuſtrious family, ordered to be read thrice, and paſſed *nemine contradicente*, and returned to the lords, without any amendment, on the very day it was ſent down.

But the houſe ſeemed to have nothing more at heart, than a ſtrict inquiry into the ſtate of the nation, with reſpect to foreign alliances. Some diſcourſes had been publiſhed in print, about the beginning of the ſeſſion, boldly complaining of certain articles in the Barrier-treaty, concluded about three years ſince by the lord viſcount Townſhend, between Great-Britain and the States General; and

ſhewing,

ſhewing, in many particulars, the unequal conduct of the powers in our alliance, in furniſhing their quotas and ſupplies. It was aſſerted, by the ſame writers, "That theſe hardſhips put upon England, "had been countenanced and encouraged by a party "here at home, in order to preſerve their power, "which could be no otherwiſe maintained than by "continuing the war; as well as by her majeſty's "general abroad, upon account of his own pecu-"liar intereſt and grandeur." Theſe loud accuſations ſpreading themſelves throughout the kingdom, delivered in facts directly charged, and thought, whether true or not, to be but weakly confuted, had ſufficiently prepared the minds of the people; and by putting arguments into every body's mouth, had filled the town and country with controverſies, both in writing and diſcourſe. The point appeared to be of great conſequence, whether the war continued or not: for, in the former caſe, it was neceſſary that the allies ſhould be brought to a more equal regulation; and that the States in particular, for whom her majeſty had done ſuch great things, ſhould explain and correct thoſe articles in the Barrier-treaty, which were prejudicial to Britain; and in either caſe, it was fit the people ſhould have at leaſt the ſatisfaction of knowing by whoſe counſels, and for what deſigns, they had been ſo hardly treated.

In order to this great inquiry, the Barrier-treaty, with all other treaties and agreements entered into between her majeſty and her allies, during the preſent war, for raiſing and augmenting the proportions

portions for the ſervice thereof, were, by the queen's directions, laid before the houſe.

Several reſolutions were drawn up, and reported at different times, upon the deficiencies of the allies in furniſhing their quotas, upon certain articles in the Barrier-treaty, and upon the ſtate of the war; by all which it appeared, "That whatever had been "charged, by public diſcourſes in print, againſt the "late miniſtry, and the conduct of the allies, was "much leſs than the truth." Upon theſe reſolutions, (by one of which the lord viſcount Townſhend, who negociated and ſigned the Barrier-treaty, was declared an enemy to the queen and kingdom) and upon ſome farther directions to the committee, a repreſentation was formed; and ſoon after, the commons, in a body, preſented it to the queen, the endeavours of the adverſe party not prevailing to have it re-committed.

This repreſentation (ſuppoſed to be the work of Sir Thomas Hanmer's pen) is written with much energy and ſpirit, and will be a very uſeful authentic record, for the aſſiſtance of thoſe, who at any time ſhall undertake to write the hiſtory of the preſent times.

I did intend, for brevity-ſake, to have given the reader only an abſtract of it; but, upon trial, found myſelf unequal to ſuch a taſk, without injuring ſo excellent a piece. And although I think hiſtorical relations are but ill patched up with long tranſcripts already printed, which, upon that account, I have hitherto avoided: yet, this being the ſum of all debates and reſolutions of the houſe of commons in

that

that great affair of the war, I conceived it could not well be omitted:

" Moſt gracious ſovereign,

" We, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal " ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain in par- " liament aſſembled, having nothing ſo much at " heart, as to enable your majeſty to bring this " long and expenſive war, to an honourable and " happy concluſion, have taken it into our moſt " ſerious conſideration, how the neceſſary ſupplies " to be provided by us may be beſt applied, and " how the common cauſe may in the moſt effec- " tual manner be carried on, by the united force of " the whole confederacy: We have thought our- " ſelves obliged, in duty to your majeſty, and in " diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in us, to inquire " into the true ſtate of the war in all its parts: " We have examined what ſtipulations have been " entered into between your majeſty and your al- " lies; and how far ſuch engagements have, on " each ſide, been made good: We have conſidered " the different intereſts which the confederates have " in the ſucceſs of this war; and the different " ſhares they have contributed to its ſupport: We " have with our utmoſt care and diligence endea- " voured to diſcover the nature, extent, and charge " of it; to the end that by comparing the weight " thereof with our own ſtrength, we might adapt " the one to the other in ſuch meaſure, as neither " to continue your majeſty's ſubjects under a hea- " vier burthen than in reaſon and juſtice they

" ought

" ought to bear, nor deceive your majeſty, your
" allies, and ourſelves, by undertaking more than
" the nation in its preſent circumſtances is able to
" perform.

" Your majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed, upon
" our humble applications, to order ſuch materials
" to be laid before us, as have furniſhed us with
" the neceſſary information, upon the particulars
" we have inquired into: and when we ſhall have
" laid before your majeſty our obſervations, and
" humble advice upon this ſubject, we promiſe to
" ourſelves this happy fruit from it, that if your
" majeſty's generous and good purpoſes for the
" procuring of a ſafe and laſting peace, ſhould,
" through the obſtinacy of the enemy, or by any
" other means, be unhappily defeated, a true know-
" ledge and underſtanding of the paſt conduct of
" the war, will be the beſt foundation for a more
" frugal and equal management of it, for the time
" to come.

" In order to take the more perfect view of what
" we propoſed, and that we might be able to ſet
" the whole before your majeſty in a true light,
" we have thought it neceſſary to go back to the
" beginning of the war; and beg leave to obſerve
" the motives and reaſons, upon which, his late
" majeſty king William engaged firſt in it. The
" treaty of the grand alliance explains thoſe reaſons
" to be, for the ſupporting of the pretenſions of his
" imperial majeſty, then actually engaged in a war
" with the French king, who had uſurped the en-
" tire Spaniſh monarchy, for his grandſon the duke

" of

" of Anjou; and for the aſſiſting of the States Ge-
" neral, who, by the loſs of their barrier againſt
" France, were then in the ſame, or a more dan-
" gerous condition, than if they were actually in-
" vaded. As theſe were juſt and neceſſary motives
" for undertaking this war, ſo the ends propoſed to
" be obtained by it were equally wiſe and honour-
" able; for, as they are ſet forth in the eighth ar-
" ticle of the ſame treaty, they appear to have
" been, *the procuring of an equitable and reaſonable*
" *ſatisfaction to his imperial majeſty; and ſufficient*
" *ſecurities for the dominions, provinces, navigation,*
" *and commerce, of the king of Great Britain and*
" *the States General*; *and making effectual proviſion,*
" *that the two kingdoms of France and Spain, ſhould*
" *never be united under the ſame government*; and
" particularly, that the French ſhould never get
" into the poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, or
" be permitted to ſail thither, upon the account of
" traffick, or under any pretence whatſoever; and
" laſtly, the ſecuring to the ſubjects of the king of
" Great Britain, and the States General, all the
" ſame privileges and rights of commerce, through-
" out the whole dominions of Spain, as they en-
" joyed before the death of Charles II., king of
" Spain, by virtue of any treaty, agreement, or
" cuſtom, or any other way whatſoever. For the
" obtaining of theſe ends, the three confederated
" powers engaged to aſſiſt one another with their
" whole force, according to ſuch proportions as
" ſhould be ſpecified in a particular convention af-
" terwards to be made for that purpoſe. We do

" not find that any ſuch convention was ever rati-
" fied: but it appears, that there was an agreement
" concluded, which, by common conſent, was un-
" derſtood to be binding upon each party reſpec-
" tively, and according to which, the proportions
" of Great Britain were from the beginning regu-
" lated and founded. The terms of that agree-
" ment were, That for the ſervice at land, his im-
" perial majeſty ſhould furniſh ninety thouſand
" men, the king of Great Britain forty thouſand,
" and the States General one hundred and two
" thouſand: of which there were forty-two thou-
" ſand intended to ſupply their garriſons, and ſixty
" thouſand to act againſt the common enemy in
" the field; and with regard to the operations of
" the war at ſea, they were agreed to be performed
" jointly by Great Britain and the States General,
" the quota of ſhips to be furniſhed for that ſer-
" vice being five-eighths on the part of Great Bri-
" tain, and three-eighths on the part of the States
" General.

" Upon this foot, the war began in the year
" 1702; at which time, the whole yearly expence
" of it to England, amounted to three millions
" ſeven hundred and ſix thouſand four hundred
" ninety-four pounds; a very great charge, as it
" was then thought by your majeſty's ſubjects,
" after the ſhort interval of eaſe they had enjoyed
" from the burden of the former war; but yet a
" very moderate proportion, in compariſon with
" the load which has ſince been laid upon them:
" for it appears, by eſtimates given into your com-

" mons,

" mons, that the ſums neceſſary to carry on the " ſervice for this preſent year, in the ſame manner " as it was performed the laſt year, amount to more " than ſix millions nine hundred and ſixty thou- " ſand pounds, beſide intereſt for the public debts, " and the deficiencies accruing the laſt year, which " two articles require one million one hundred " and forty-three thouſand pounds more; ſo that " the whole demands upon your commons, are " ariſen to more than eight millions, for the pre- " ſent annual ſupply. We know your majeſty's " tender regard for the welfare of your people, " will make it uneaſy to you to hear of ſo great a " preſſure as this upon them: and as we are aſſured " it will fully convince your majeſty of the neceſ- " ſity of our preſent inquiry; ſo, we beg leave to " repreſent to you from what cauſes, and by what " ſteps, this immenſe charge appears to have grown " upon us.

" The ſervice at ſea, as it has been very large " and extenſive in itſelf, ſo it has been carried on, " through the whole courſe of the war, in a man- " ner highly diſadvantageous to your majeſty and " your kingdom: for the neceſſity of affairs re- " quiring that great fleets ſhould be fitted out every " year, as well for maintaining a ſuperiority in " the Mediterranean, as for oppoſing any force " which the enemy might prepare, either at Dun- " kirk, or in the ports of Weſt France; your ma- " jeſty's example and readineſs, in fitting out your " proportion of ſhips for all parts of that ſervice, " have been ſo far from prevailing with the States

" General

" General to keep pace with you, that they have " been deficient every year to a great degree, in " proportion to what your majeſty has furniſhed; " ſometimes, no leſs than two-thirds, and gene- " rally, more than half of their quota: hence your " majeſty has been obliged, for the preventing of " diſappointments in the moſt preſſing ſervices, to " ſupply thoſe deficiencies by additional reinforce- " ments of your own ſhips; nor has the ſingle in- " creaſe of ſuch a charge been the only ill conſe- " quence that attended it; for, by this means the " debt of the navy has been enhanced, ſo that the " diſcounts ariſing upon the credit of it, have af- " fected all other parts of the ſervice, from the " ſame cauſe. Your majeſty's ſhips of war have " been forced in greater numbers to continue in re- " mote ſeas, and at unſeaſonable times of the year, " to the great damage and decay of the Britiſh " navy. This alſo has been the occaſion that your " majeſty has been ſtreightened in your convoys " for trade; your coaſts have been expoſed, for " want of a ſufficient number of cruizers to guard " them; and you have been diſabled from annoy- " ing the enemy in their moſt beneficial commerce " with the Weſt Indies, from whence they received " thoſe vaſt ſupplies of treaſure, without which " they could not have ſupported the expences of " this war.

" That part of the war which has been carried " on in Flanders, was at firſt immediately neceſſary " to the ſecurity of the States General, and has ſince " brought them great acquiſitions both of revenue

" and

" and dominion: yet even there the original pro-
" portions have been departed from; and during the
" courſe of the war, have been ſinking by degrees
" on the part of Holland: ſo that, in this laſt year,
" we find the number in which they fell ſhort of
" their three-fifths, to your majeſty's two-fifths,
" have been twenty thouſand eight hundred and
" thirty-ſeven men. We are not unmindful that
" in the year 1703, a treaty was made between the
" two nations, for a joint augmentation of twenty
" thouſand men; wherein the proportions were va-
" ried, and England conſented to take half upon
" itſelf. But, it having been annexed as an ex-
" preſs condition to the grant of the ſaid augment-
" ation in parliament, that the States General
" ſhould prohibit all trade and commerce with
" France; and that condition having not been per-
" formed by them; the commons think it reaſon-
" able, that the firſt rule of three to two ought to
" have taken place again, as well in that, as in
" other ſubſequent augmentations; more eſpecially
" when they conſider, that the revenues of thoſe
" rich provinces which have been conquered,
" would, if they were duly applied, maintain a
" great number of new additional forces againſt the
" common enemy: notwithſtanding which, the
" States General have raiſed none upon that ac-
" count: but make uſe of thoſe freſh ſupplies of
" money, only to eaſe themſelves in the charge of
" their firſt eſtabliſhed quota.

" As, in the progreſs of the war in Flanders, a diſproportion was ſoon created to the prejudice of

" England; ſo the very beginning of the war in
" Portugal, brought an unequal ſhare of burden
" upon us: for, although the emperor and the
" States General were equally parties with your
" majeſty, in the treaty with the king of Portugal;
" yet, the emperor neither furniſhing his third part
" of the troops and ſubſidies ſtipulated for, nor the
" Dutch conſenting to take an equal ſhare of his
" Imperial majeſty's defect upon themſelves, your
" majeſty has been obliged to furniſh two-thirds of
" the entire expence created by that ſervice. Nor
" has the inequality ſtopped there; for ever ſince
" the year 1706, when the Engliſh and Dutch
" forces marched out of Portugal into Caſtile, the
" States General have entirely abandoned the war
" in Portugal, and left your majeſty to proſecute it
" ſingly at your own charge; which you have ac-
" cordingly done, by replacing a greater number
" of troops there, than even at firſt you took upon
" you to provide. At the ſame time, your ma-
" jeſty's generous endeavours for the ſupport and
" defence of the king of Portugal, have been but
" ill ſeconded by that prince himſelf; for, not-
" withſtanding that by his treaty he had obliged
" himſelf to furniſh twelve thouſand foot, and three
" thouſand horſe, upon his own account, beſide
" eleven thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe
" more, in conſideration of a ſubſidy paid him;
" yet, according to the beſt information your com-
" mons can procure, it appears that he has ſcarce
" at any time furniſhed thirteen thouſand men in
" the whole.

" In

" In Spain, the war has been yet more unequal " and burdenſome to your majeſty, than in any " other branch of it; for, being commenced with- " out any treaty whatſoever, the allies have almoſt " wholly declined taking any part of it upon them- " ſelves. A ſmall body of Engliſh and Dutch " troops were ſent thither in the year 1705; not as " being thought ſufficient to ſupport a regular war, " or to make the conqueſt of ſo large a country; " but with a view only of aſſiſting the Spaniards to " ſet king Charles upon the throne; occaſioned by " the great aſſurances which were given of their " inclinations to the houſe of Auſtria; but, this " expectation failing, England was inſenſibly " drawn into an eſtabliſhed war, under all the diſ- " advantages of the diſtance of the place, and the " feeble efforts of the other allies. The account " we have to lay before your majeſty upon this " head, is, that although this undertaking was en- " tered upon at the particular and earneſt requeſt " of the Imperial court, and for a cauſe of no leſs " importance and concern to them than the redu- " cing of the Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Au- " ſtria; yet, neither the late emperors, nor his " preſent Imperial majeſty, have ever had any " forces there on their own account, till the laſt " year; and then only one regiment of foot, con- " ſiſting of two thouſand men. Though the States " General have contributed ſomething more to this " ſervice, yet their ſhare alſo has been inconſider- " able; for, in the ſpace of four years, from 1705 " to 1708, both incluſive, all the forces they have

" ſent into that country, have not exceeded twelve
" thouſand two hundred men; and from the year
" 1708 to this time, they have not ſent any forces
" or recruits whatſoever. To your majeſty's care
" and charge the recovery of that kingdom has
" been in a manner wholly left, as if none elſe
" were intereſted or concerned in it. And the
" forces which your majeſty has ſent into Spain, in
" the ſpace of ſeven years, from 1705 to 1711,
" both incluſive, have amounted to no leſs than
" fifty-ſeven thouſand nine hundred ſeventy-three
" men; beſide thirteen battalions, and eighteen
" ſquadrons, for which your majeſty has paid a
" ſubſidy to the emperor.

" How great the eſtabliſhed expence of ſuch a
" number of men has been, your majeſty very well
" knows, and your commons very ſenſibly feel:
" but the weight will be found much greater, when
" it is conſidered how many heavy articles of un-
" uſual and extraordinary charge, have attended
" this remote and difficult ſervice; all which have
" been entirely defrayed by your majeſty, except
" that one of tranſporting the few forces which
" were ſent by the States General, and the victual-
" ing of them during their tranſportation only.
" The accounts delivered to your commons ſhew,
" that the charge of your majeſty's ſhips and veſſels,
" employed in the ſervice of the war in Spain and
" Portugal, reckoned after the rate of four pounds
" a man *per* month, from the time they ſailed
" from hence, till they returned, were loſt, or put
" upon other ſervices, has amounted to ſix millions

" five hundred forty thouſand nine hundred and
" ſixty-ſix pounds, fourteen ſhillings; the charge
" of tranſports on the part of Great Britain, for
" carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal, from
" the beginning of it till this time, has amounted
" to one million three hundred thirty-ſix thouſand
" ſeven hundred and nineteen pounds, nineteen
" ſhillings, and eleven pence; that of victualing
" land-forces for the ſame ſervice, to five hundred
" eighty-three thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy
" pounds, eight ſhillings, and ſix pence; and
" that of contingencies, and other extraordinaries
" for the ſame ſervice, to one million eight hun-
" dred forty thouſand three hundred and fifty-three
" pounds.

" We ſhould take notice to your majeſty of ſe-
" veral ſums paid upon account of contingencies
" and extraordinaries in Flanders, making together
" the ſum of one million one hundred ſeven thou-
" ſand and ninety-ſix pounds; but we are not able
" to make any compariſon of them, with what the
" States General have expended upon the ſame
" head, having no ſuch ſtate of their extraordinary
" charge before us. There remains, therefore,
" but one particular more for your majeſty's obſer-
" vation, which ariſes from the ſubſidies paid to
" foreign princes. Theſe, at the beginning of the
" war, were borne in equal proportion by your
" majeſty and the States General; but in this in-
" ſtance alſo, the balance has been caſt in prejudice
" of your majeſty: for it appears that your ma-
" jeſty has ſince advanced, more than your equal

" proportion, three millions one hundred and fifty-
" five thouſand crowns, beſide extraordinaries paid
" in Italy, and not included in any of the foregoing
" articles, which ariſe to five hundred thirty-nine
" thouſand five hundred and fifty-three pounds.

" We have laid theſe ſeveral particulars before
" your majeſty in the ſhorteſt manner we have
" been able; and by an eſtimate grounded on the
" preceding facts, it does appear, that over and
" above the quotas on the part of Great Britain,
" anſwering to thoſe contributed by your allies,
" more than nineteen millions have been expended
" by your majeſty, during the courſe of this war,
" by way of ſurpluſage, or exceeding in balance;
" of which none of the confederates have furniſhed
" any thing whatſoever.

" It is with very great concern that we find ſo
" much occaſion given us, to repreſent how ill a
" uſe hath been made of your majeſty's, and your
" ſubjects zeal for the common cauſe: that the in-
" tereſt of that cauſe has not been proportionably
" promoted by it, but others only have been eaſed
" at your majeſty's, and your ſubjects coſts; and
" have been connived at in laying their part of the
" burden upon this kingdom, although they have,
" upon all accounts, been equally, and in moſt re-
" ſpects, much more nearly concerned than Bri-
" tain, in the iſſue of the war. We are perſuaded,
" your majeſty will think it pardonable in us, with
" ſome reſentment, to complain of the little re-
" gard, which ſome of thoſe, whom your majeſty
" of late years intruſted, have ſhewn to the intereſt

" of

" of their country, in giving way at leaſt to ſuch " unreaſonable impoſitions upon it, if not in ſome " meaſure contriving them: the courſe of which " impoſitions has been ſo ſingular and extraordi- " nary, that the more the wealth of this nation has " been exhauſted, and the more your majeſty's " arms have been attended with ſucceſs, the heavier " has been the burden laid upon us; while, on the " other hand, the more vigorous your majeſty's " efforts have been, and the greater the advantages " which have redounded thence to your allies, the " more thoſe allies have abated in the ſhare of their " expence.

" At the firſt entrance into this war, the com- " mons were reduced to exert themſelves in the " extraordinary manner they did, and to grant " ſuch large ſupplies, as had been unknown to for- " mer ages, in hopes thereby to prevent the miſ- " chiefs of a lingering war, and to bring that, in " which they were neceſſarily engaged, to a ſpeedy " concluſion: but they have been very unhappy " in the event, while they have ſo much reaſon to " ſuſpect that what was intended to ſhorten the " war, has proved the very cauſe of its long con- " tinuance; for, thoſe to whom the profits of it " have accrued, have been diſpoſed not eaſily to " forego them. And your majeſty will thence diſ- " cern *the true reaſon why ſo many have delighted in* " *a war, which brought in ſo rich a harveſt yearly* " *from Great Britain.*

" We are as far from deſiring, as we know your " majeſty will be, from concluding any peace, but

" upon ſafe and honourable terms: and we are far
" from intending to excuſe ourſelves from raiſing
" all neceſſary and poſſible ſupplies, for an effec-
" tual proſecution of the war, till ſuch a peace can
" be obtained. All that your faithful commons
" aim at, all that they wiſh, is an equal concur-
" rence from the other powers, engaged in alliance
" with your majeſty; and a juſt application of
" what has been already gained from the enemy,
" towards promoting the common cauſe. Several
" large countries and territories have been reſtored
" to the houſe of Auſtria; ſuch as, the kingdom of
" of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and other places
" in Italy. Others have been conquered, and
" added to their dominions; as the two electorates
" of Bavaria and Cologn, the duchy of Mantua,
" and the biſhoprick of Liege. Theſe, having
" been reduced, in a great meaſure, by our blood
" and treaſure, may, we humbly conceive, with
" great reaſon, be claimed to come in aid towards
" carrying on the war in Spain. And therefore
" we make it our earneſt requeſt to your majeſty,
" that you will give inſtructions to your miniſters,
" to inſiſt with the emperor, that the revenues of
" thoſe ſeveral places, excepting only ſuch a por-
" tion thereof as is neceſſary for their defence, be
" actually ſo applied. And as to the other parts of
" the war, to which your majeſty has obliged your-
" ſelf by particular treaties to contribute, we hum-
" bly beſeech your majeſty, that you will be pleaſed
" to take effectual care, that your allies do per-
" form their parts ſtipulated by thoſe treaties;

" and

" and that your majeſty will, for the fu-
" ture, no otherwiſe furniſh troops, or pay ſub-
" ſidies, than in proportion to what your allies
" ſhall actually furniſh and pay. When this juſtice
" is done to your majeſty and to your people, there
" is nothing which your commons will not cheer-
" fully grant, towards ſupporting your majeſty in
" the cauſe in which you are engaged. And what-
" ever farther ſhall appear to be neceſſary for car-
" rying on the war, either at ſea or land, we will
" effectually enable your majeſty to bear your rea-
" ſonable ſhare, of any ſuch expence; and will
" ſpare no ſupplies which your ſubjects are able,
" with their utmoſt efforts, to afford.

" After having inquired into, and conſidered
" the ſtate of the war, in which the part your ma-
" jeſty has borne, appears to have been not only
" ſuperior to that of any one ally, but even equal
" to that of the whole confederacy; your com-
" mons naturally inclined to hope, that they ſhould
" find care had been taken of ſecuring ſome parti-
" cular advantages to Britain, in the terms of a fu-
" ture peace; ſuch as might afford a proſpect of
" making the nation amends, in time, for that im-
" menſe treaſure which has been expended, and
" thoſe heavy debts which have been contracted,
" in the courſe of ſo long and burdenſome a war.
" This reaſonable expectation could no way have
" been better anſwered, than by ſome proviſion
" made for the farther ſecurity, and the greater
" improvement of the commerce of Great Britain.

" But

" But we find ourſelves ſo very far diſappointed in " theſe hopes, that, in a treaty not long ſince con- " cluded between your majeſty and the States Ge- " neral, under colour of a mutual guarantee given " for two points of the greateſt importance to both " nations, the Succeſſion and the Barrier; it ap- " pears, the intereſt of Great Britain has been not " only neglected, but ſacrificed; and that ſeveral " articles in the ſaid treaty, are deſtructive to the " trade and welfare of this kingdom, and therefore " highly diſhonourable to your majeſty.

" Your commons obſerve, in the firſt place, that " ſeveral towns and places are, by virtue of this " treaty, to be put into the hands of the States " General; particularly Newport, Dendermond, " and the caſtle of Ghent, which can in no ſenſe " be looked upon as part of a barrier againſt " France; but, being the keys of the Netherlands " towards Britain, muſt make the trade of your " majeſty's ſubjects in thoſe parts, precarious, and " whenever the States think fit, totally exclude " them from it. The pretended neceſſity of put- " ting theſe places into the hands of the States Ge- " neral, in order to ſecure to them a communica- " tion with their barrier, muſt appear vain and " groundleſs; for, the ſovereignty of the Low " Countries being not to remain to an enemy, but " to a friend and an ally, that communication muſt " be always ſecure and uninterrupted; beſide that, " in caſe of a rupture or an attack, the States have " full liberty allowed them to take poſſeſſion of all " the Spaniſh Netherlands, and therefore needed

" no

" no particular ſtipulation for the towns abovemen-
" tioned.

" Having taken notice of this conceſſion made
" to the States General, for ſeizing upon the whole
" ten provinces; we cannot but obſerve to your
" majeſty, that in the manner this article is framed,
" it is another dangerous circumſtance which at-
" tends this treaty; for, had ſuch a proviſion been
" confined to the caſe of an apparent attack from
" France only, the avowed deſign of this treaty
" had been fulfilled, and your majeſty's inſtruc-
" tions to your ambaſſador had been purſued: but
" this neceſſary reſtriction has been omitted; and
" the ſame liberty is granted to the States, to take
" poſſeſſion of all the Netherlands, whenever they
" ſhall think themſelves attacked by any other
" neighbouring nation, as when they ſhall be in
" danger from France; ſo that, if it ſhould at any
" time happen (which your commons are very un-
" willing to ſuppoſe) that they ſhould quarrel even
" with your majeſty, the riches, ſtrength, and ad-
" vantageous ſituation of theſe countries, may be
" made uſe of againſt yourſelf, without whoſe ge-
" nerous and powerful aſſiſtance, they had never
" been conquered.

" To return to thoſe ill conſequences which re-
" late to the trade of your kingdoms. We beg
" leave to obſerve to your majeſty, that though this
" treaty revives and renders your majeſty a party
" to the fourteenth and fifteenth articles of the
" treaty of Munſter, by virtue of which the impo-
" ſitions upon all goods and merchandizes brought

" into the Spaniſh Low Countries by the ſea, are
" to equal thoſe laid on goods and merchandizes
" imported by the Scheld, and the canals of Saſs
" and Swyn, and other mouths of the ſea adjoin-
" ing; yet no care is taken to preſerve that equa-
" lity, upon the exportation of thoſe goods out of
" the Spaniſh provinces, into thoſe countries and
" places which, by virtue of this treaty, are to be
" in poſſeſſion of the States; the conſequence of
" which muſt in time be, and your commons are
" informed that in ſome inſtances it has already
" proved to be the caſe, that the impoſitions upon
" goods carried into thoſe countries and places by
" the ſubjects of the States General, will be taken
" off, while thoſe upon the goods imported by
" your majeſty's ſubjects remain: by which means,
" Great Britain will entirely loſe this moſt bene-
" ficial branch of trade, which it has in all ages
" been poſſeſſed of, even from the time when thoſe
" countries were governed by the houſe of Bur-
" gundy, one of the moſt antient, as well as the
" moſt uſeful allies to the crown of England.

" With regard to the other dominions and ter-
" ritories of Spain, your majeſty's ſubjects have
" always been diſtinguiſhed in their commerce
" with them; and, both by antient treaties, and
" an uninterrupted cuſtom, have enjoyed greater
" privileges and immunities of trade, than either
" the Hollanders, or any other nation whatſoever.
" And that wiſe and excellent treaty of the Grand
" Alliance, provides effectually for the ſecurity and
" continuance of theſe valuable privileges to Bri-

" tain,

" tain, in ſuch a manner, as that each nation " might be left, at the end of war, upon the ſame " foot as it ſtood at the commencement of it. But " this treaty we now complain of, inſtead of con- " firming your ſubjects rights, ſurrenders and de- " ſtroys them: for, although by the ſixteenth and " ſeventeenth articles of the treaty of Munſter, " made between his Catholic majeſty and the States " General, all advantages of trade are ſtipulated " for, and granted to the Hollanders, equal to what " the Engliſh enjoyed; yet, the crown of Eng- " land not being a party to that treaty, the ſub- " jects of England have never ſubmitted to thoſe " articles of it, nor even the Spaniards themſelves " ever obſerved them. But this treaty revives " thoſe articles in prejudice of Great Britain; and " makes your majeſty a party to them, and even " a guarantee to the States General, for privileges " againſt your own people.

" In how deliberate and extraordinary a manner " your majeſty's ambaſſador conſented to deprive " your ſubjects of their ancient rights, and your " majeſty of the power of procuring to them any " new advantage, moſt evidently appears from his " own letters, which, by your majeſty's directions, " have been laid before your commons: for, when " matters of advantage to your majeſty, and to " your kingdom, had been offered, as proper to " be made parts of this treaty, they were refuſed " to be admitted by the States General, upon this " reaſon and principle: That nothing foreign to " the guaranties of the ſucceſſion and of the bar-

" rier,

" rier, ſhould be mingled with them. Notwith-
" ſtanding which, the States General had no ſooner
" received notice of a treaty of commerce conclud-
" ed between your majeſty and the preſent em-
" peror, but they departed from the rule propoſed
" before, and inſiſted upon the article of which
" your commons now complain; which article,
" your majeſty's ambaſſador allowed of, although
" equally foreign to the ſucceſſion or the barrier;
" and although he had, for that reaſon, departed
" from other articles, which would have been for
" the ſervice of his own country.

" We have forborne to trouble your majeſty with
" general obſervations upon this treaty, as it re-
" lates to, and affects the empire, and other parts
" of Europe. The miſchiefs which ariſe from it to
" Great Britain are what only we have preſumed
" humbly to repreſent to you, as they are very
" evident and very great. And as it appears that
" the lord viſcount Townſhend had not any orders,
" or authority, for concluding ſeveral of thoſe ar-
" ticles, which are moſt prejudicial to your ma-
" jeſty's ſubjects; we have thought we could
" do no leſs than declare your ſaid ambaſſador
" who negociated and ſigned, and all others who
" adviſed the ratifying of this treaty, enemies to
" your majeſty and your kingdom.

" Upon theſe faithful informations and advices
" from your commons, we aſſure ourſelves, your
" majeſty, in your great goodneſs to your people,
" will reſcue them from thoſe evils, which the
" private counſels of ill-deſigning men have ex-

" poſed

" poſed them to; and that, in your great wiſdom, " you will find ſome means for explaining and " amending the ſeveral articles of this treaty, ſo as " that they may conſiſt with the intereſt of Great " Britain, and with real and laſting friendſhip be- " tween your majeſty and the States General."

Between the repreſentation, and the firſt debates upon the ſubject of it, ſeveral weeks had paſſed; during which time the parliament had other matters likewiſe before them, that deſerve to be mentioned. For, on the 9th of February was repealed the act for naturalizing foreign Proteſtants, which had been paſſed under the laſt miniſtry, and, as many people thought, to very ill purpoſes. By this act, any foreigner, who would take the oaths to the government, and profeſs himſelf a Proteſtant, of whatever denomination, was immediately naturalized, and had all the privileges of an Engliſh-born ſubject, at the expence of a ſhilling. Moſt Proteſtants abroad differ from us in the points of church-government; ſo that all the acquiſitions by this act, would increaſe the number of Diſſenters; and therefore, the propoſal that ſuch foreigners ſhould be obliged to conform to the eſtabliſhed worſhip, was rejected. But, becauſe ſeveral perſons were fond of this project, as a thing that would be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, I ſhall ſay a few words upon it.

The maxim, " That people are the riches of a " nation," has been crudely underſtood by many writers and reaſoners upon that ſubject. There are

ſeveral

ſeveral ways by which people are brought into a country. Sometimes a nation is invaded, and ſubdued; and the conquerors ſeize the lands, and make the natives their under-tenants or ſervants. Colonies have been always planted where the natives were driven out or deſtroyed, or the land uncultivated and waſte. In thoſe countries, where the lord of the ſoil is maſter of the labour and liberty of his tenants, or of ſlaves bought by his money, mens riches are reckoned by the number of their vaſſals. And ſometimes, in governments newly inſtituted, where there are not people to till the ground, many laws have been made to encourage and allure numbers from the neighbouring countries. And in all theſe caſes, the new comers have either lands allotted them, or are ſlaves to the proprietors. But to invite helpleſs families, by thouſands, into a kingdom inhabited like ours, without lands to give them, and where the laws will not allow that they ſhould be part of the property as ſervants, is a wrong application of the maxim; and the ſame thing, in great, as infants dropped at the doors, which are only a burden and charge to the pariſh. The true way of multiplying mankind to public advantage, in ſuch a country as England, is, to invite from abroad only able handicraftſmen and artificers, or ſuch who bring over a ſufficient ſhare of property to ſecure them from want; to enact and enforce ſumptuary laws againſt luxury, and all exceſſes in cloathing, furniture, and the like; to encourage matrimony;

and

and reward, as the Romans did, thoſe who have a certain number of children. Whether bringing over the Palatines were a mere conſequence of this law for a general naturalization; or whether, as many ſurmized, it had ſome other meaning; it appeared manifeſtly, by the iſſue, that the publick was a loſer by every individual among them; and that a kingdom can no more be the richer by ſuch an importation, than a man can be fatter by a wen, which is unſightly and troubleſome at beſt, and intercepts that nouriſhment, which would otherwiſe diffuſe itſelf through the whole body.

About a fortnight after, the commons ſent up a bill for ſecuring the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of members in that houſe, who ſhould be allowed to poſſeſs employments under the crown. Bills to the ſame effect, promoted by both parties, had, after making the like progreſs, been rejected in former parliaments; the court and miniſtry, who will ever be againſt ſuch a law, having uſually a greater influence in the houſe of lords: and ſo it happened now. Although that influence were leſs, I am apt to think that ſuch a law would be too thorough a reformation in one point, while we have ſo many corruptions in the reſt; and perhaps the regulations already made on that article are ſufficient, by which ſeveral employments incapacitate a man from being choſen a member, and all of them bring it to a new election.

For my own part, when I conſider the temper of particular perſons, and by what maxims

they have acted (almoſt without exception) in their private capacities, I cannot conceive how ſuch a bill ſhould obtain a majority, unleſs every man expected to be one of the fifty, which, I think, was the limitation intended.

About the ſame time, likewiſe, the houſe of commons advanced one conſiderable ſtep, towards ſecuring us againſt farther impoſitions from our allies; reſolving that the additional for nould be continued; but with a condition, that the Dutch ſhould make good their proportion of three-fifths to two-fifths, which thoſe confederates had ſo long, and in ſo great degree, neglected. The duke of Marlborough's deduction of two and a half *per cent.* from the pay of the foreign troops, was alſo applied for carrying on the war.

Laſtly, within this period is to be included the act paſſed to prevent the diſturbing thoſe of the epiſcopal communion in Scotland, in the exercise of their religious worſhip, and in the uſe of the Liturgy of the church of England. It is known enough, that the moſt conſiderable of the nobility and gentry there, as well as great numbers of the people, dread the tyrannical diſcipline of thoſe ſynods and preſbyteries; and at the ſame time, have the utmoſt contempt for the abilities and tenets of their teachers. It was beſides thought an inequality beyond all appearance of reaſon or juſtice, that Diſſenters of every denomination here, who are the meaneſt and moſt illiterate part among us, ſhould poſſeſs a toleration by law, under colour of which they might, upon occaſion, be bold enough to

to inſult the religion eſtabliſhed; while thoſe of the Epiſcopal church in Scotland, groaned under a real perſecution. The only ſpecious objection againſt this bill was, that it ſet the religion by law in both parts of the iſland upon a different foot, directly contrary to the Union; becauſe, by an act paſſed this very ſeſſion againſt occaſional conformity, our Diſſenters were ſhut out from all employments. A petition from Carſtairs, and other Scotch profeſſors, againſt this bill, was offered to the houſe, but not accepted; and a motion made by the other party, to receive a clauſe, that ſhould reſtrain all perſons who have any office in Scotland, from going to Epiſcopal meetings, paſſed in the negative. It is manifeſt, that the promoters of this clauſe, were not moved by any regard for Scotland, which is by no means their favourite at preſent; only they hoped, that if it were made part of a law, it might occaſion ſuch a choice of repreſentatives in both houſes, from Scotland, as would be a conſiderable ſtrength to their faction here. But the propoſition was in itſelf extremely abſurd, that ſo many lords and other perſons of diſtinction, who have great employments, penſions, poſts in the army, and other places of profit, many of whom are in frequent or conſtant attendance at the court, and utterly diſlike their national way of worſhip, ſhould be deprived of their liberty of conſcience at home; not to mention thoſe who are ſent thither from hence, to take care of the revenue and other affairs, who would ill digeſt the changing of their religion for that of Scotland.

With a farther view of favour towards the epiſcopal clergy of Scotland, three members of that country, were directed to bring in a bill, for reſtoring the patrons to their ancient rights of preſenting miniſters to the vacant churches there; which the kirk, during the height of their power, had obtained for themſelves. And, to conclude this ſubject at once, the queen, at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, commanded Mr. ſecretary St. John to acquaint the houſe, "That, purſuant to their addreſs, the profits ariſing from the biſhops eſtates in Scotland, which remained in the crown, ſhould be applied to the ſupport of ſuch of the epiſcopal clergy there, as would take the oaths to her majeſty."

Nothing could more amply juſtify the proceedings of the queen and her miniſters, for two years paſt, than that famous repreſentation above at large recited; the unbiaſſed wiſdom of the nation, after the ſtricteſt inquiry, confirming thoſe facts upon which her majeſty's counſels were grounded: and many perſons, who were before inclined to believe that the allies and the late miniſtry had been too much loaded by the malice, miſrepreſentations, or ignorance of writers, were now fully convinced of their miſtake by ſo great an authority. Upon this occaſion I cannot forbear doing juſtice to Mr. St. John, who had been ſecretary at war, for ſeveral years, under the former adminiſtration, where he had the advantage of obſerving how affairs were managed both at home and abroad. He was one of thoſe who ſhared in the

preſent

preſent treaſurer's fortune, reſigning up his employment at the ſame time; and upon that miniſter's being again taken into favour, this gentleman was ſome time after made ſecretary of ſtate. There he began afreſh, by the opportunities of his ſtation, to look into paſt miſcarriages; and, by the force of an extraordinary genius, and application to public affairs, joined with an invincible eloquence, laid open the ſcene of miſcarriages and corruptions, through the whole courſe of the war, in ſo evident a manner, that the houſe of commons ſeemed principally directed in their reſolutions, upon this inquiry, by his information and advice. In a ſhort time after the repreſentation was publiſhed, there appeared a memorial in the Dutch Gazette, as by order of the States, reflecting very much upon the ſaid repreſentation, as well as the reſolutions on which it was founded, pretending to deny ſome of the facts, and to extenuate others. This memorial, tranſlated into Engliſh, a common writer of news had the boldneſs to inſert in one of his papers. A complaint being made thereof to the houſe of commons; they voted the pretended memorial to be a falſe, ſcandalous, malicious libel, and ordered the printer to be taken into cuſtody.

It was the misfortune of the miniſters, that while they were baited by their profeſſed adverſaries of the diſcontented faction, acting in confederacy with emiſſaries of foreign powers, to break the meaſures her majeſty had taken towards a peace, they met, at the ſame time, with frequent difficulties from thoſe who agreed and engaged with them to pur-

ſue the ſame general end, but ſometimes diſapproved the methods as too ſlack and remiſs, or in appearance now and then, perhaps, a little dubious. In the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, a conſiderable number of gentlemen, all members of the houſe of commons, began to meet by themſelves, and conſult what courſe they ought to ſteer in this new world. They intended to revive a new country-party in parliament, which might, as in former times, oppoſe the court in any proceedings they diſliked. The whole body was of ſuch who profeſs what is commonly called High-church principles, upon which account, they were irreconcileable enemies to the late miniſtry and all its adherents. On the other ſide, conſidering the temper of the new men in power, that they were perſons who had formerly moved between the two extremes, thoſe gentlemen who were impatient for an entire change, and to ſee all their adverſaries laid at once as low as the duſt, began to be apprehenſive that the work would be done by halves. But the juncture of affairs at that time, both at home and abroad, would by no means admit of the leaſt precipitation, although the queen and her firſt miniſter had been diſpoſed to it: which certainly they were not. Neither did the court ſeem at all uneaſy at this league, formed in appearance againſt it, but compoſed of honeſt gentlemen, who wiſhed well to their country, in which both were entirely agreed, although they might differ about the means; or, if ſuch a ſociety ſhould begin to grow reſty, nothing was eaſier than to divide them,

them, and render all their endeavours ineffectual.

But, in the courſe of that firſt ſeſſion, many of this ſociety became gradually reconciled to the new miniſtry, whom they found to be greater objects of the common enemy's hatred than themſelves; and the attempt of Guiſcard, as it gained farther time for deferring the diſpoſal of employments, ſo it much endeared that perſon * to the kingdom, who was ſo near falling a ſacrifice to the ſafety of his country. Upon the laſt ſeſſion, of which I am now writing, this October Club (as it was called) renewed their uſual meetings; but were now very much altered from their original inſtitution, and ſeemed to have wholly dropped the deſign, as of no further uſe. They ſaw a point carried in the houſe of lords againſt the court, that would end in the ruin of the kingdom; and they obſerved the enemy's whole artillery directly levelled at the treaſurer's head. In ſhort, the majority of the club had ſo good an underſtanding with the great men at court, that two of the latter †, to ſhew to the world how fair a correſpondence there was between the court and country-party, conſented to be at one of their dinners; but this intercourſe had an event very different from what was expected: for, immediately the more zealous members of that ſociety broke off from the reſt, and compoſed a new one, made up of gentlemen who ſeemed to expect little of the court; and perhaps with a

* Mr. Harley. † Mr. St. John and Mr. Bromley.

mixture of others, who thought themſelves diſappointed, or too long delayed. Many of theſe were obſerved to retain an incurable jealouſy of the treaſurer; and to interpret all delays, which they could not comprehend, as a reſerve of favour in this miniſter, to the perſons and principles of the abandoned party.

Upon an occaſion offered about this time, ſome perſons, out of diſtruſt to the treaſurer, endeavoured to obtain a point which could not have been carried without putting all into confuſion. A bill was brought into the houſe of commons, appointing commiſſioners to examine into the value of all lands, and other intereſts granted by the crown, ſince the 13th day of February, 1688, and upon what conſiderations ſuch grants had been made. The united country-intereſt in the houſe was extremely ſet upon paſſing the bill. They had conceived an opinion, from former precedents, that the court would certainly oppoſe all ſteps towards a reſumption of grants: and thoſe who were apprehenſive that the treaſurer inclined the ſame way, propoſed the bill ſhould be tacked to another, for raiſing a fund by duties upon ſoap and paper; which has been always imputed, whether juſtly or not, as a favourite expedient of thoſe called the Tory party. At the ſame time it was very well known, that the houſe of lords had made a fixed and unanimous reſolution againſt giving their concurrence to the paſſing of ſuch united bills: ſo that the conſequences of this project muſt have been, to bring the miniſtry under difficulties,

to

to ſtop the neceſſary ſupplies, and endanger the good correſpondence between both houſes: notwithſtanding all which, the majority carried it for a tack; and the committee was inſtructed accordingly to make the two bills into one: whereby the worſt that could happen would have followed, if the treaſurer had not convinced the warm leaders in this affair, by undeniable reaſons, that the means they were uſing would certainly diſappoint the end; that neither himſelf, nor any other of the queen's ſervants, were at all againſt this inquiry; and he promiſed his utmoſt credit to help forward the bill in the houſe of lords. He prevailed at laſt to have it ſent up ſingle; but their lordſhips gave it another kind of reception. Thoſe who were of the ſide oppoſite to the court, withſtood it to a man, as in a party-caſe: among the reſt, ſome were perſonally concerned, and others by friends and relations, which they ſuppoſed a ſufficient excuſe to be abſent, or diſſent. Even thoſe, whoſe grants were antecedent to this intended inſpection, began to be alarmed, as men whoſe neighbours houſes are on fire. A ſhew of zeal for the late king's honour, occaſioned many reflections upon the date of this inquiry, which was to commence with his reign: and the earl of Nottingham, who had now flung away the maſk which he had lately pulled off, like one who had no other view but that of vengeance againſt the queen and her friends, acted conſiſtently enough with his deſign, by voting as a lord againſt the bill,

bill, after he had directed his ſon in the houſe of commons to vote for the tack.

Thus miſcarried this popular bill for appointing commiſſioners to examine into royal grants; but whether thoſe chiefly concerned, did rightly conſult their own intereſt, has been made a queſtion, which perhaps time will reſolve. It was agreed that the queen, by her own authority, might have iſſued out a commiſſion for ſuch an inquiry; and every body believed that the intention of the parliament was, only to tax the grants with about three years purchaſe, and at the ſame time eſtabliſh the proprietors in poſſeſſion of the remainder for ever; ſo that, upon the whole, the grantees would have been great gainers by ſuch an act, ſince the titles of thoſe lands, as they ſtood then, were hardly of half value with others, either for ſale or ſettlement. Beſides, the example of the Iriſh forfeitures might have taught theſe precarious owners, that when the houſe of commons has once engaged in a purſuit, which they think is right, although it be ſtopped or ſuſpended for a while, they will be ſure to renew it upon every opportunity that offers, and ſeldom fail of ſucceſs: for inſtance, if the reſumption ſhould happen to be made part of a ſupply, which can be eaſily done without the objection of a tack, the grantees might poſſibly then have much harder conditions given them; and I do not ſee how they could prevent it. Whether the reſuming of royal grants be conſiſtent with good policy or juſtice, would be too long a diſquiſition;

diſquiſition; beſides, the profuſion of kings is not likely to be a grievance for the future, becauſe there have been laws ſince made to provide againſt that evil, or indeed rather becauſe the crown has nothing left to give away. But the objection made againſt the date of the intended inquiry, was invidious and trifling; for king James II. made very few grants: he was a better manager, and ſquandering was none of his faults; whereas the late king, who came over here a perfect ſtranger to our laws and to our people, regardleſs of poſterity, wherein he was not likely to ſurvive, thought he could no way better ſtrengthen a new title, than by purchaſing friends at the expence of every thing which was in his power to part with.

The reaſonableneſs of uniting to a money-bill one of a different nature, which is uſually called *tacking*, has been likewiſe much debated, and will admit of argument enough. In ancient times, when a parliament was held, the commons firſt propoſed their grievances to be redreſſed, and then gave their aids; ſo that it was a perfect bargain between the king and the ſubject. This fully anſwered the ends of tacking. Aids were then demanded upon occaſions which would hardly paſs at preſent; ſuch, for inſtance, as thoſe for making the king's ſon a knight, marrying his eldeſt daughter, and ſome others of the like ſort. Moſt of the money went into the king's coffers, for his private uſe; neither was he accountable for any part of it. Hence aroſe the form of the king's thanking his ſubjects for their benevolence, when any ſubſidies, tenths, or fifteenths, were given him.

him. But the ſupplies now granted are of another nature, and cannot be properly called a particular benefit to the crown, becauſe they are all appropriated to their ſeveral uſes: ſo that, when the houſe of commons tack to a money-bill, what is foreign and hard to be digeſted, if it be not paſſed, they put themſelves and their country in as great difficulties as the prince. On the other ſide, there have been ſeveral regulations made, through the courſe of time, in parliamentary proceedings; among which, it is grown a rule, that a bill once rejected ſhall not be brought up again the ſame ſeſſion; whereby the commons ſeem to have loſt the advantage of purchaſing a redreſs of their grievances by granting ſupplies, which, upon ſome emergencies, has put them upon this expedient of tacking; ſo that there is more to be ſaid on each ſide of the caſe, than is convenient for me to trouble the reader or myſelf in deducing.

Among the matters of importance during this ſeſſion, we may juſtly number the proceedings of the houſe of commons with relation to the preſs; ſince her majeſty's meſſage to the houſe, of January the ſeventeenth, concludes with a paragraph, repreſenting the great licences taken in publiſhing falſe and ſcandalous libels, ſuch as are a reproach to any government; and recommending to them to find a remedy equal to the miſchief. The meaning of theſe words in the meſſage ſeems to be confined to thoſe weekly and daily papers and pamphlets, reflecting upon the perſons and the management of the miniſtry. But the houſe of

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commons, in their addreſs which anſwers this meſſage, makes an addition of the blaſphemies againſt God and religion; and it is certain that nothing would be more for the honour of the legiſlature, than ſome effectual law for putting a ſtop to this univerſal miſchief; but as the perſon * who adviſed the queen in that part of her meſſage, had only then in his thoughts the redreſſing of the political and factious libels, I think he ought to have taken care, by his great credit in the houſe, to have propoſed ſome ways by which that evil might be removed; the law for taxing ſingle papers having produced a quite contrary effect, as was then foreſeen by many perſons, and has ſince been found true by experience. For the adverſe party, full of rage and leiſure ſince their fall, and unanimous in defence of their cauſe, employ a ſet of writers by ſubſcription, who are well verſed in all the topicks of defamation, and have a ſtyle and genius levelled to the generality of readers; while thoſe who would draw their pens on the ſide of their prince and country, are diſcouraged by this tax, which exceeds the intrinſic value both of the materials and the work; a thing, if I be not miſtaken, without example.

It muſt be acknowledged, that the bad practices of printers have been ſuch, as to deſerve the ſevereſt animadverſions of the publick; and it is to be wiſhed, the party-quarrels of the pen were always managed with decency and truth: but, in

* Mr. ſecretary St. John.

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the mean time, to open the mouths of our enemies, and ſhut our own, is a turn of politicks that wants a little to be explained. Perhaps the miniſtry now in poſſeſſion, becauſe they are in poſſeſſion, may deſpiſe ſuch trifles as this; and it is not to be denied, that acting as they do upon a national intereſt, they may ſeem to ſtand in leſs need of ſuch ſupports, or may ſafely fling them down as no longer neceſſary. But, if the leaders of the other party had proceeded by this maxim, their power would have been none at all, or of very ſhort duration: and had not ſome active pens fallen in to improve the good diſpoſitions of the people upon the late change, and continued ſince to overthrow the falſehood plentifully, and ſometimes not unplauſibly, ſcattered by the adverſaries, I am very much in doubt whether thoſe at the helm would now have reaſon to be pleaſed with their ſucceſs. A particular perſon may with more ſafety deſpiſe the opinion of the vulgar, becauſe it does a wiſe man no real harm or good, but the adminiſtration a great deal; and whatever ſide has the ſole management of the pen, will ſoon find hands enough to write down their enemies, as low as they pleaſe. If the people had no other idea of thoſe whom her majeſty truſts in her greateſt affairs, than what is conveyed by the paſſions of ſuch as would compaſs ſea and land for their deſtruction; what could they expect, but to be torn in pieces by the rage of the multitude? How neceſſary therefore was it, that the world ſhould, from time to time, be undeceived by true repreſentations

ſentations of perſons and facts, which have kept the kingdom ſteady to its intereſt, againſt all the attacks of a cunning and virulent faction!

However, the miſchiefs of the preſs were too exorbitant to be cured by ſuch a remedy as a tax upon the ſmaller papers; and a bill for a much more effectual regulation of it, was brought into the houſe of commons, but ſo late in the ſeſſion that there was no time to paſs it: for there has hitherto always appeared an unwillingneſs to cramp overmuch the liberty of the preſs, whether, from the inconveniencies apprehended from doing too much, or too little; or whether, the benefit propoſed by each party to themſelves, from the ſervice of their writers towards the recovering or preſerving of power, be thought to outweigh the diſadvantages. However it came about, this affair was put off from one week to another, and the bill not brought into the houſe till the eighth of June. It was committed three days, and then heard of no more. In this bill there was a clauſe inſerted (whether induſtriouſly with deſign to overthrow it) that the author's name, and place of abode ſhould be ſet to every printed book, pamphlet, or paper; to which I believe no man, who has the leaſt regard to learning, would give his conſent; for, beſide the objection to this clauſe from the practice of pious men, who, in publiſhing excellent writings for the ſervice of religion, have choſen, out of an humble Chriſtian ſpirit, to conceal their names; it is certain that all perſons of true genius or knowledge, have an invincible modeſty

and ſuſpicion of themſelves, upon their firſt ſending their thoughts into the world; and that thoſe who are dull or ſuperficial, void of all taſte and judgment, have diſpoſitions directly contrary: ſo that, if this clauſe had been made part of a law, there would have been an end, in all likelihood, of any valuable production for the future, either in wit or learning: and that inſufferable race of ſtupid people, who are now every day loading the preſs, would then reign alone, in time deſtroy our very firſt principles of reaſon, and introduce barbarity amongſt us, which is already kept out with ſo much difficulty by ſo few hands.

Having given an account of the ſeveral ſteps made towards a peace, from the firſt overtures begun by France, to the commencement of the ſecond ſeſſion; I ſhall, in the fourth book, relate the particulars of this great negociation, from the period laſt mentioned to the preſent time; and becauſe there happened ſome paſſages in both houſes, occaſioned by the treaty, I ſhall take notice of them under that head. There only remains to be mentioned one affair of another nature, which the lords and commons took into their cognizance, after a very different manner, wherewith I ſhall cloſe this part of my ſubject.

The ſect of Quakers among us, whoſe ſyſtem of religion, firſt founded upon enthuſiaſm, has been many years growing into a craft, held it an unlawful action to take an oath to a magiſtrate. This doctrine was taught them by the author of their ſect, from a literal application of the text, *Swear not at all*; but, being a body of people wholly turned

turned to trade and commerce of all kinds, they found themſelves on many occaſions, deprived of the benefit of the law, as well as of voting at elections, by a fooliſh ſcruple, which their obſtinacy would not ſuffer them to get over. To prevent this inconvenience, theſe people had credit enough in the late reign to have an act paſſed, that their ſolemn affirmation and declaration ſhould be accepted, inſtead of an oath in the uſual form. The great concern in thoſe times was, to lay all religion upon a level; in order to which, this maxim was advanced, "That no man ought to be denied the "liberty of ſerving his country, upon account of "a different belief in ſpeculative opinions;" under which term ſome people were apt to include every doctrine of Chriſtianity. However, this act in favour of the Quakers was only temporary, in order to keep them in conſtant dependence; and expired of courſe after a certain term, if it were not continued. Thoſe people had, therefore, very early in the ſeſſion, offered a petition to the houſe of commons, for a continuance of the act, which was not ſuffered to be brought up. Upon this, they applied themſelves to the lords; who paſſed a bill accordingly, and ſent it down to the commons, where it was not ſo much as allowed a firſt reading.

And indeed it is not eaſy to conceive, upon what motives, the legiſlature of ſo great a kingdom, could deſcend ſo low, as to be miniſterial and ſubſervient to the caprices of the moſt abſurd hereſy that ever appeared in the world; and this, in a point where thoſe deluding or deluded

people, ſtand ſingular from all the reſt of mankind, who live under civil government: but the deſigns of an aſpiring party, at that time, were not otherwiſe to be compaſſed, than by undertaking any thing that would humble and mortify the Church; and I am fully convinced, that if a ſet of ſceptic philoſophers (who profeſs to doubt of every thing) had been then among us, and mingled their tenets with ſome corruptions of Chriſtianity, they might have obtained the ſame privilege; and that a law would have been enacted, whereby the ſolemn doubt of the people called Scepticks, ſhould have been accepted, inſtead of an oath in the uſual form: ſo abſurd are all maxims formed upon the inconſiſtent principles of Faction, when once they are brought to be examined by the ſtandard of Truth and Reaſon.

THE HISTORY OF THE FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN.

BOOK IV.

WE left the plenipotentiaries of the allies, and thoſe of the enemy, preparing to aſſemble at Utrecht on the firſt of January, N. S. in order to form a congreſs for negociating a general peace; wherein, although the Dutch had made a mighty merit of their compliance with the queen, yet they ſet all their inſtruments at work, to inflame both houſes againſt her majeſty's meaſures. M. Bothmar, the Hanover envoy, took care to print and diſperſe his memorial, of which I have formerly ſpoken: Hoffman, the emperor's reſident, was ſoliciting for a yacht and convoys to bring over prince Eugene at this juncture, fortified, as it was given out, with great propoſals from the Imperial

court: the earl of Nottingham became a convert, for reaſons already mentioned: money was diſtributed where occaſion required; and the dukes of Somerſet and Marlborough, together with the earl of Godolphin, had put themſelves at the head of the Junto and their adherents, in order to attack the court. Some days after the vote paſſed the houſe of lords for admitting into the addreſs the earl of Nottingham's clauſe, againſt any peace without Spain; M. Buys, the Dutch envoy, who had been deep in all the conſultations with the diſcontented party for carrying that point, was deſired to meet with the lord privy-ſeal, the earl of Dartmouth, and Mr. ſecretary St. John, in order to ſign a treaty between the queen and the States, to ſubſiſt after a peace. There the envoy took occaſion to expoſtulate upon the advantages ſtipulated for Britain with France; ſaid, "It was his opinion, "that thoſe miniſters ought, in reſpect of the "friendſhip between both nations, to acquaint him "what theſe advantages were; and that he looked "upon his country to be entitled by treaty, to "ſhare them equally with us: That there was now "another reaſon why we ſhould be more diſpoſed "to comply with him upon this head; for, ſince "the late reſolution of the houſe of lords, he took "it for granted, it would be a dangerous ſtep in us "to give Spain to a prince of the houſe of Bour-"bon; and therefore that we ſhould do well to in-"duce the States, by ſuch a conceſſion, to help us "out of this difficulty."

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Mr. St. John made anſwer, "That there was not "a man in the queen's council capable of ſo baſe a "thought: That if Buys had any thing to com- "plain of, which was injurious to Holland, or "juſtly tending to hurt the good correſpondence "between us and the States, he was confident her "majeſty would at all times be ready to give it up; "but that the miniſters ſcorned to ſcreen them- "ſelves at the expence of their country: That the "reſolution Buys mentioned was chiefly owing to "foreign miniſters intermeddling in our affairs, "and would perhaps have an effect the projectors "did not foreſee: That if the peace became im- "practicable, the houſe of commons would cer- "tainly put the war upon another foot; and re- "duce the public expence within ſuch a compaſs, "as our treaties required in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, and "as our preſent condition would admit, leaving "the partizans for war to ſupply the reſt."

Although the ſecretary believed this anſwer would put an end to ſuch infamous propoſals, it fell out otherwiſe; for, ſhortly after, M. Buys applied himſelf to the treaſurer, promiſing to undertake, "That his maſters ſhould give up the article of "Spain, provided they might ſhare with us in the "Aſſiento for Negroes." To which the treaſurer's anſwer was ſhort, "That he would rather loſe his "head than conſent to ſuch an offer."

It is manifeſt by this proceeding, that whatever ſchemes were forming here at home, in this junc- ture, by the enemies to the peace, the Dutch only deſigned to fall in with it, as far as it would anſwer

their own account; and by a ſtrain of the lower politicks, wherein they muſt be allowed to excel every country in Chriſtendom, lay upon the watch for a good bargain, by taking advantage of the diſtreſs, they themſelves had brought upon their neareſt neighbour and ally.

But the queen highly reſented this indignity from a republick, upon whom ſhe had conferred ſo many obligations. She could not endure that the Dutch ſhould employ their inſtruments to act in confederacy with a cabal of factious people, who were prepared to ſacrifice the ſafety of their prince and country, to the recovery of that power, they had ſo long poſſeſſed and abuſed. Her majeſty knew very well, that, whatever were the miſtaken, or affected opinion of ſome people at home, upon the article of Spain, it was a point the States had long given up; who had very openly told our miniſtry, "That the war in that country was only "our concern, and what their republick had no-"thing to do with." It is true, the party-leaders were equally convinced that the recovery of Spain was impracticable; but many things may be excuſed in a profeſſed adverſary fallen under a diſgrace, which are highly criminal in an ally, upon whom we are that very inſtant conferring new favours. Her majeſty therefore thought it high time to exert herſelf, and at length put a ſtop to foreign influence upon Britiſh counſels; ſo that, after the earl of Nottingham's clauſe againſt any peace without Spain was carried in the houſe of lords, directions were immediately ſent to the earl of Strafford

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at the Hague, to inform the Dutch, "That it was "obtained by a trick, and would conſequently "turn to the diſappointment and confuſion of the "contrivers and the actors." He was likewiſe inſtructed to be very dry and reſerved to the penſionary and Dutch miniſters; to let them know, "The queen thought herſelf ill-treated; and that "they would ſoon hear what effects thoſe meaſures "would have upon a mild and good temper, "wrought up to reſentment by repeated provoca-"tions: That the States might have the war con-"tinued, if they pleaſed; but that the queen "would not be forced to carry it on after their "manner; nor would ſuffer them to make her "peace, or to ſettle the intereſts of her king-"doms."

To others in Holland, who appeared to be more moderate, the earl was directed to ſay, "That the "States were upon a wrong ſcent: That their miniſ-"ter here miſtook every thing that we had promiſed: "That we would perform all they could reaſonably "aſk from us, in relation to their barrier and their "trade: and that Monſ. Buys dealt very unfairly, "if he had not told him as much: but that Britain, "proceeding in ſome reſpects upon a new ſcheme "of politicks, would no longer ſtruggle for impoſ-"ſibilities, nor be amuſed by words: That our "people came more and more to their ſenſes; and "that the ſingle diſpute now was, whether the "Dutch would join with a faction againſt the "queen, or with the nation for her?"

The court likewiſe reſolved to diſcourage prince Eugene from his journey to England, which he was about this time undertaking, and of which I have ſpoken before. He was told, "That the "queen wanted no exhortations to carry on the "war; but the project of it ſhould be agreed "abroad, upon which her majeſty's reſolutions "might ſoon be ſignified: and, until ſhe ſaw what "the emperor and allies were ready to do, ſhe "would neither promiſe nor engage for any "thing." At the ſame time, Mr. St. John told Hoffman, the emperor's reſident here, "That, if "the prince had a mind to divert himſelf in Lon-"don, the miniſters would do their part to enter-"tertain him, and be ſure to trouble him with no "manner of buſineſs."

This coldneſs retarded the prince's journey for ſome days; but did not prevent it, although he had a ſecond meſſage, by the queen's order, with this farther addition, "That his name had lately "been made uſe of, on many occaſions, to create "ferment, and ſtir up ſedition; and that her ma-"jeſty judged it would be neither ſafe for him, nor "convenient for her, that he ſhould come over at "this time." But all would not do: it was enough that the queen did not abſolutely forbid him; and the party-confederates, both foreign and domeſtic, thought his preſence would be highly neceſſary for their ſervice.

Towards the end of December, the lord privy-ſeal* ſet out for Holland. He was ordered to ſtop at

* Dr. John Robinſon, biſhop of Briſtol in 1710; lord privy ſeal in 1711, in the room of John Holles, duke of Newcaſtle; and in 1713, tranſlated to the ſee of London.

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the Hague, and in conjunction with the earl of Strafford, to declare to the States, in her majeſty's name, " Her reſolutions to conclude no peace, " wherein the allies in general, and each confede- " rate in particular, might not find their ample ſe- " curity, and their reaſonable ſatisfaction: That " ſhe was ready to inſiſt upon their barrier, and " advantages in their trade, in the manner the " States themſelves ſhould deſire; and to concert " with them ſuch a plan of treaty, as both powers " might be under mutual engagements never to re- " cede from: That nothing could be of greater im- " portance, than for the miniſters of Great Britain " and Holland, to enter the congreſs under the " ſtricteſt ties of confidence, and entirely to con- " cur throughout the courſe of theſe negociations; " to which purpoſe, it was her majeſty's pleaſure, " that their lordſhips ſhould adjuſt with the Dutch " miniſters the beſt manner and method for open- " ing and carrying on the conferences, and declare " themſelves inſtructed to communicate freely their " thoughts and meaſures to the plenipotentiaries of " the States, who, they hoped, had received the " ſame inſtructions."

Laſtly, the two lords were to ſignify to the pen- ſionary and the other miniſters, " That her ma- " jeſty's preparations for the next campaign, were " carried on with all the diſpatch and vigour the " preſent circumſtances would allow: and to inſiſt, " that the ſame might be done by the States; and " that both powers ſhould join in preſſing the em- " peror, and other allies, to make greater efforts

" than

" than they had hitherto done; without which, " the war muſt languiſh, and the terms of peace " become every day more diſadvantageous."

The two Britiſh plenipotentiaries went to Utrecht with very large inſtructions; and after the uſual manner, were to make much higher demands from France (at leaſt in behalf of the allies) than they could have any hope to obtain. The ſum of what they had in charge, beſide matter of form, was, to concert with the miniſters of the ſeveral powers engaged againſt France, " That all differences ariſing " among them ſhould be accommodated between " themſelves, without ſuffering the French to in- " terfere: That whatever were propoſed to France " by a miniſter of the alliance, ſhould be backed " by the whole confederacy: That a time might " be fixed for the concluſion, as there had been for " the commencement of the treaty." Spain was to be demanded out of the hands of the Bourbon family, as the moſt effectual means for preventing the union of that kingdom with France; and whatever conditions the allies could agree upon, for hindering that union, their lordſhips were peremptorily to inſiſt on.

As to the intereſts of each ally in particular; the plenipotentiaries of Britain were to demand " Straſ- " burgh, the fort of Kehl with its dependencies, " and the town of Briſac with its territory, for the " emperor: That France ſhould poſſeſs Alſatia, " according to the treaty of Weſtphalia, with the " right of the præfecture only over the ten imperial " cities in that country: That the fortifications of

" the ſaid ten cities, be put into the condition they
" were in at the time of the ſaid treaty, except
" Landau, which was to be demanded for the em-
" peror and empire, with liberty of demoliſhing
" the fortifications: That the French king ſhould,
" at a certain time, and at his own expence, de-
" moliſh the fortreſſes of Hunningen, New Briſac,
" and Fort Lewis, never to be rebuilt.

" That the town and fortreſs of Rhinfelt ſhould
" be demanded for the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel,
" until that matter be otherwiſe ſettled.

" That the clauſe relating to religion, in the
" fourth article of the treaty of Ryſwick, and con-
" trary to that of Weſtphalia, ſhould be annulled;
" and the ſtate of religion in Germany reſtored to
" the tenor of the treaty of Weſtphalia.

" That France ſhould acknowledge the king of
" Pruſſia, and give him no diſturbance in Neuf-
" chatel and Valengin.

" That the principality of Orange, and other
" eſtates belonging to the late king William, ſhould
" be reſtored, as law ſhould direct.

" That the duke of Hanover ſhould be acknow-
" ledged elector.

" That the king of Portugal ſhould enjoy all the
" advantages ſtipulated between him and the allies.

" That the States ſhould have for their barrier
" Furnes, Fort Knock, Menin, Ipres, Liſle, Tour-
" nay, Condé, Valenciennes, Maubeuge, Douay,
" Bethune, Avie, St. Venant, and Bouchain, with
" their cannon, &c.: That the French king ſhould
" reſtore all the places belonging to Spain, now, or

" during

" during this war, in his poſſeſſion, in the Nether-
" lands: That ſuch part of them as ſhould be
" thought fit, might be allowed likewiſe for a bar-
" rier to the States: That France ſhould grant the
" tariff of 1664 to the States; and exemption of
" fifty pence *per* tun upon Dutch goods trading to
" that kingdom: But that theſe articles in favour
" of the States ſhould not be concluded, till the
" Barrier-treaty were explained to the queen's ſa-
" tisfaction.

" That the duke of Savoy ſhould be put in poſ-
" ſeſſion of all taken from him in this war, and
" enjoy the places yielded to him by the emperor
" and other allies: That France ſhould likewiſe
" yield to him Exilles, Feneſtrilles, Chaumont, the
" valley of Pregata, and the land lying between
" Piedmont and Mount Genu.

" That the article about the demoliſhing of Dun-
" kirk ſhould be explained."

As to Britain; the plenipotentiaries were to in-
ſert, " That Nieuport, Dendermond, Ghent, and
" all places which appear to be a barrier rather
" againſt England than France, ſhould either not
" be given to the Dutch, or at leaſt in ſuch a man-
" ner as not to hinder the queen's ſubjects free paſ-
" ſage to and from the Low Countries.

" That the ſeventh article of the Barrier-treaty,
" which empowers the States, in caſe of an attack,
" to put troops at diſcretion in all the places of the
" Low Countries, ſhould be ſo explained as to be
" underſtood only of an attack from France.

" That

" That Britain ſhould trade to the Low Coun-
" tries with the ſame privileges as the States them-
" ſelves.

" That the moſt Chriſtian king ſhould acknow-
" ledge the ſucceſſion of Hanover, and imme-
" diately oblige the pretender to leave France; and
" that the ſaid king ſhould promiſe, for himſelf
" and his heirs, never to acknowledge any perſon
" for king or queen of England, otherwiſe than
" according to the ſettlements now in force.

" That a treaty of commerce ſhould be com-
" menced, as ſoon as poſſible, between France and
" Britain; and in the mean time, the neceſſary
" points relating to it be ſettled.

" That the iſle of St. Chriſtopher's ſhould be
" ſurrendered to the queen, Hudſon's Bay reſtored,
" Placentia and the whole iſland of Newfoundland
" yielded to Britain by the moſt Chriſtian king;
" who was likewiſe to quit all claim to Nova Scotia
" and Annapolis Royal.

" That Gibraltar and Minorca ſhould be annexed
" to the Britiſh crown.

" That the Aſſiento ſhould be granted to Britain
" for thirty years, with the ſame advantage as to
" France; with an extent of ground on the river
" of Plata, for keeping and refreſhing the Ne-
" groes.

" That Spain ſhould grant to the ſubjects of
" Britain, as large privileges as to any other na-
" tion whatſoever; as likewiſe an exemption of
" duties, amounting to an advantage of at leaſt fif-
" teen *per cent.*

" That

" That ſatisfaction ſhould be demanded for what " ſhould appear to be juſtly due to her majeſty, " from the emperor and the States.

" Laſtly, That the plenipotentiaries ſhould con- " ſult, with thoſe of the Proteſtant allies, the moſt " effectual methods for reſtoring the Proteſtants of " France to their religious and civil liberties, and " for the immediate releaſe of thoſe who are now " in the galleys."

What part of theſe demands were to be inſiſted on, and what were to be given up, will appear by the ſequel of this negociation. But there was no difficulty of moment enough to retard the peace, except a method for preventing the union of France and Spain under one prince, and the ſettling the barrier for Holland; which laſt, as claimed by the States, could, in prudence and ſafety, be no more allowed by us, than by France.

The States General having appointed Monſ. Buys to be one of their plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, that miniſter left England a few days after the lord privy-ſeal. In his laſt conference with the lords of the council, he abſolutely declared, " That his maſ- " ters had done their utmoſt, both by ſea and land: " That it was unreaſonable to expect more: That " they had exceeded their proportion, even beyond " Britain; and that as to the emperor and other " allies, he knew no expedient left for making " them act with more vigour, than to purſue them " with pathetical exhortations."

This miniſter was ſent over hither, inſtructed and empowered by halves. The ferment raiſed by the united

united endeavours of our party-leaders, among whom he was a conſtant fellow-labourer to the utmoſt of his ſkill, had wholly confounded him; and, thinking to take the advantage of negociating well for Holland, at the expence of Britain, he acted but ill for his own country, and worſe for the common cauſe. However, the queen's miniſters and he parted with the greateſt civility; and her majeſty's preſent was double the value of what is uſual to the character he bore.

As the queen was determined to alter her meaſures in making war, ſo ſhe thought nothing would ſo much convince the States of the neceſſity of a peace, as to have them frequently put in mind of this reſolution; which her ambaſſador Strafford, then at the Hague, was accordingly directed to do: and if they ſhould object, of what ill conſequence it would be for the enemy to know her majeſty deſigned to leſſen her expences; he might anſwer, "That the miniſters here were ſorry for it; but "the Dutch could only blame themſelves, for "forcing into ſuch a neceſſity, a princeſs, to whoſe "friendſhip they owed the preſervation and gran-"deur of their republick, and chooſing to lean on "a broken faction, rather than place their con-"fidence in the queen."

It was her majeſty's earneſt deſire, that there ſhould be a perfect agreement at this treaty between the miniſters of all the allies; than which nothing could be more effectual to make France comply with their juſt demands. Above all, ſhe directed her plenipotentiaries to enter into the ſtricteſt con-

fidence

fidence with thoſe of Holland; and that after the States had conſented to explain the Barrier-treaty to her reaſonable ſatisfaction, both powers ſhould form between them a plan of general peace, from which they would not recede, and ſuch as might ſecure the quiet of Europe, as well as the particular intereſts of each confederate.

The Dutch were accordingly preſſed, before the congreſs opened, to come to ſome temperament upon that famous treaty; becauſe the miniſters here expected it would be ſoon laid before the houſe of commons, by which the reſentment of the nation would probably appear againſt thoſe, who had been actors and adviſers in it: but Monſ. Buys, who uſually ſpoke for his colleagues, was full of oppoſition, began to expoſtulate upon the advantages Britain had ſtipulated with France; and to inſiſt, "That his maſters ought to ſhare equally in them "all, but eſpecially the Aſſiento contract:" ſo that no progreſs was made in fixing a previous good correſpondence between Britain and the States, which her majeſty had ſo earneſtly recommended.

Certain regulations having been agreed upon, for the avoiding of ceremony and other inconveniences; the conferences began at Utrecht, upon the 29th of January, N. S. 1711-12, at ten in the morning. The miniſters of the allies going into the town-houſe at one door, and thoſe of France at the ſame inſtant at another, they all took their ſeats without diſtinction; and the biſhop of Briſtol, lord privy-ſeal, firſt plenipotentiary of Britain, opened the aſſembly with a ſhort ſpeech, directed to the miniſters

miniſters of France, in words to the following effect:

"Meſſieurs,

"We are here to meet to-day, in the name of "God, to enter upon a treaty of general peace, "between the high allies and the king your maſter. "We bring ſincere intentions, and expreſs orders "from our ſuperiors, to concur, on their part, with "whatever may advance and perfect ſo ſalutary "and Chriſtian a work. On the other ſide, we "hope, you have the ſame diſpoſition; and that "your orders will be ſo full, as to be able, with-"out loſs of time, to anſwer the expectation of "the high allies, by explaining yourſelves clearly "and roundly upon the points we ſhall have to ſet-"tle in theſe conferences; and that you will per-"form this in ſo plain and ſpecific a manner, as "every prince and ſtate in the confederacy may "find a juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction."

The French began, by promiſing to explain the overtures which Monſ. Meſnager had delivered to the queen ſome months before, and to give in a ſpecific project of what their maſter would yield, provided the allies would each give a ſpecific anſwer, by making their ſeveral demands; which method, after many difficulties and affected delays in the Dutch, was at length agreed to.

But the States, who had with the utmoſt diſcontent ſeen her majeſty at the head of this negociation, where they intended to have placed themſelves, began to diſcover their ill-humour upon every occaſion. They raiſed endleſs difficulties about ſet-

tling the Barrier-treaty as the queen desired; and in one of the first general conferences, they would not suffer the British secretary to take the minutes, but nominated some Dutch professor for that office; which the queen refused, and resented their behaviour, as a useless cavil, intended only to shew their want of respect. The British plenipotentiaries had great reason to suspect that the Dutch were, at this time, privately endeavouring to engage in some separate measures with France, by the intervention of one Molo, a busy factious agent at Amsterdam, who had been often employed in such intrigues; and that this was the cause which made them so litigious and slow in all their steps, in hopes to break the congress, and find better terms for their trade and barrier from the French, than we ever could think fit to allow them. The Dutch ministers did also apply themselves with industry to cultivate the Imperial plenipotentiary's favour, in order to secure all advantages of commerce with Spain and the West Indies, in case those dominions could be procured for the emperor: for this reason, they avoided settling any general plan of peace in concert with the plenipotentiaries of Britain, which her majesty desired; and Monsr. Buys plainly told their lordships, "That it was a point, which neither he nor "his colleagues could consent to, before the States "were admitted equal sharers with Britain in the "trade of Spain."

The court, having notice of this untractable temper in the Dutch, gave direct orders to the plenipotentiaries of Britain, for pressing those of the States

States to adjuſt the groſs inequalities of the Barrier-treaty; ſince nothing was more uſual, or agreeable to reaſon, than for princes, who find themſelves aggrieved by prejudicial contracts, to expect they ſhould be modified and explained. And ſince it now appeared, by votes in the houſe of commons, that the ſenſe of the nation agreed with what her majeſty deſired, if the Dutch miniſters would not be brought to any moderate terms upon this demand, their lordſhips were directed to improve and amend the particular conceſſions made to Britain by France, and form them into a treaty; for the queen was determined never to allow the States any ſhare in the Aſſiento, Gibraltar, and Port Mahon; nor could think it reaſonable that they ſhould be upon an equal foot with her in the trade of Spain, to the conqueſt whereof they had contributed ſo little.

Nor was the conduct of the Imperial miniſter, at this time, leſs perplexing than that of the States; both thoſe powers appearing fully bent, either upon breaking off the negociation, or upon forcing from the queen thoſe advantages ſhe expected by it for her own kingdoms. Her majeſty therefore thought fit, about the beginning of March, to ſend Mr. Thomas Harley, a near relation of the treaſurer's, to Utrecht, fully informed of her mind; which he was directed to communicate to the plenipotentiaries of Britain.

Mr. Harley ſtopped in his way to Utrecht at the Hague, and there told the penſionary, "That no-"thing had happened lately in England, but what

" was long ago foretold him, as well as the other
" miniſters of the allies: That the proceedings of
" the houſe of commons, particularly about the
" Barrier-treaty, muſt chiefly be aſcribed to the
" manner in which the queen and the nation had
" been treated by Monſ. Bothmar, count Gallas,
" Buys, and other foreign miniſters: That if the
" States would yet enter into a ſtrict union with
" the queen, give her ſatisfaction in the ſaid treaty,
" and join in concert with her plenipotentiaries at
" Utrecht, a ſafe and advantageous peace might be
" obtained for the whole alliance; otherwiſe, her
" majeſty muſt ſave her own country, and join
" with ſuch of her allies as would join with her.

" As to the war, that the conduct of the allies,
" and their oppoſition to the queen, her private in-
" trigues carried on among her own ſubjects, as
" well as by open remonſtrances, had made the
" houſe of commons take that matter out of the
" hands of the miniſters.

" Laſtly, that in caſe the preſent treaty were
" broken off by the Dutch refuſing to comply, her
" majeſty thought it reaſonable to inſiſt that ſome
" cautionary places be put into her hands, as
" pledges that no other negociation ſhould be en-
" tered into by the States General, without her par-
" ticipation."

Mr. Harley's inſtructions to the queen's plenipo-
tentiaries were, " That they ſhould preſs thoſe of
" France to open themſelves as far as poſſible, in
" concerting ſuch a plan of a general peace as
" might give reaſonable ſatisfaction to all the con-
" federates, and ſuch as her parliament would ap-
" prove:

" prove: That the people of England believed " France would conſent to ſuch a plan; wherein " if they found themſelves deceived, they would " be as eager for proſecuting the war as ever."

Their lordſhips were to declare openly to the Dutch, " That no extremity ſhould make her ma- " jeſty depart from inſiſting to have the Aſſiento " for her own ſubjects, and to keep Gibraltar and " Port Mahon: but, if the States would agree with " her upon theſe three heads, ſhe would be content " to reduce the trade of Spain and the Weſt Indies, " to the condition it was in under the late Catholic " king Charles II."

The French were farther to be preſſed, " That " the pretender ſhould be immediately ſent out of " that kingdom; and that the moſt effectual me- " thod ſhould be taken, for preventing the union " of France and Spain under one prince."

About this time her majeſty's miniſters, and thoſe of the allies at Utrecht, delivered in the ſeveral *poſtulata* or demands of their maſters, to the French plenipotentiaries; which, having been ſince made public, and all of them, except thoſe of Britain, very much varying in the courſe of the negociation, the reader would be but ill entertained with a tranſcript of them here.

Upon intelligence of the laſt dauphin's death, the father, ſon, and grandſon, all of that title, dying within the compaſs of a year, Monſ. Gualtier went to France, with letters to the marquis De Torcy, to propoſe her majeſty's expedient for preventing the union of that kingdom with Spain; which, as it was the moſt important article to be ſettled, in

order to ſecure peace for Europe, ſo it was a point that required to be ſpeedily adjuſted, under the preſent circumſtances and ſituation of the Bourbon family; there being only left a child of two years old, to ſtand between the duke of Anjou, and his ſucceeding to the crown of France.

Her majeſty likewiſe preſſed France, by the ſame diſpatches, to ſend full inſtructions to their plenipotentiaries; empowering them to offer ſuch a plan of peace, as might give reaſonable ſatisfaction to all her allies.

The queen's propoſal for preventing a union between France and Spain, was, "That Philip "ſhould formally renounce the kingdom of France, "for himſelf and his poſterity; and that this re-"nunciation ſhould be confirmed by the cortes or "ſtates of Spain, who, without queſtion, would "heartily concur againſt ſuch a union, by which "their country muſt become a province to "France." In like manner, the French princes of the blood were ſeverally to renounce all title to Spain.

The French raiſed many difficulties upon ſeveral particulars of this expedient; but the queen perſiſted to refuſe any plan of peace, before this weighty point were ſettled in the manner ſhe propoſed: which was afterwards ſubmitted to, as in proper place we ſhall obſerve. In the mean time, the negociation at Utrecht proceeded with a very ſlow pace; the Dutch interpoſing all obſtructions they could contrive, refuſing to come to any reaſonable temper upon the Barrier-treaty, or to offer a plan, in concert with the queen, for a general peace.

Nothing

Nothing leſs would ſatisfy them, than the partaking in thoſe advantages we had ſtipulated for ourſelves, and which did no wiſe interfere with their trade or ſecurity. They ſtill expected ſome turn in England. Their friends on this ſide had ventured to aſſure them, "That the queen could not live many "months;" which, indeed, from the bad ſtate of her majeſty's health, was reaſonable to expect. The Britiſh plenipotentiaries daily diſcovered new endeavours of Holland to treat privately with France. And, laſtly, thoſe among the States, who deſired the war ſhould continue, ſtrove to gain time, until the campaign ſhould open; and by reſolving to enter into action with the firſt opportunity, render all things deſperate, and break up the congreſs.

This ſcheme did exactly fall in with prince Eugene's diſpoſitions, whom the States had choſen for their general, and of whoſe conduct in this conjuncture the queen had too much reaſon to be jealous. But her majeſty, who was reſolved to do her utmoſt towards putting a good and ſpeedy end to the war, having placed the duke of Ormond at the head of her forces in Flanders, where he was now arrived, directed him to keep all the troops in Britiſh pay, whether ſubjects or foreigners, immediately under his own command; and to be cautious, for a while, in engaging in any action of importance, unleſs upon a very apparent advantage. At the ſame time the queen determined to make one thorough trial of the diſpoſition of the States, by allowing them the utmoſt conceſſions that could

any way ſuit either with her ſafety or honour. She therefore directed her miniſters at Utrecht to tell the Dutch, "That in order to ſhew how deſirous "ſhe was to live in perfect amity with that repub- "lick, ſhe would reſign up the fifteen *per cent.* ad- "vantage upon Engliſh goods ſent to the Spaniſh "dominions, which the French king had offered "her by a power from his grandſon; and be con- "tent to reduce that trade, to the ſtate in which it "was under the late king of Spain. She would "accept of any tolerable ſoftening of thoſe words "in the ſeventh article of the Barrier-treaty, "where it is ſaid, 'The States ſhall have power, "in caſe of an apparent attack, to put as many "troops as they pleaſe into all the places of the "Netherlands,' without ſpecifying an attack from "the ſide of France, as ought to have been done; "otherwiſe, the queen might juſtly think they "were preparing themſelves for a rupture with "Britain. Her majeſty likewiſe conſented, that "the States ſhould keep Nieuport, Dendermond, "and the caſtle of Ghent, as an addition to their "barrier, although ſhe were ſenſible how injurious "thoſe conceſſions would be to the trade of her "ſubjects; and would wave the demand of Oſtend "being delivered into her hands, which ſhe might "with juſtice inſiſt on. In return for all this, that "the queen only deſired the miniſters of the States "would enter into a cloſe correſpondence with "hers; and ſettle between them ſome plan of a "general peace, which might give reaſonable con- "tent to all her allies, and which her majeſty

"would

" would endeavour to bring France to conſent to. " She deſired the trade of her kingdoms to the Ne- " therlands, and to the towns of their barrier, " might be upon as good a foot as it was before the " war began: That the Dutch would not inſiſt to " have a ſhare in the Aſſiento, to which they had " not the leaſt pretenſions; and that they would " no longer encourage the intrigues of a faction " againſt her government. Her majeſty aſſured " them, in plain terms, That her own future mea- " ſures, and the conduct of her plenipotentiaries, " ſhould be wholly governed by their behaviour in " theſe points; and that her offers were only con- " ditional, in caſe of their compliance with what " ſhe deſired."

But all theſe proofs of the queen's kindneſs and ſincerity could not avail. The Dutch miniſters pleaded, " They had no power to concert the plan " of general peace with thoſe of Britain." However, they aſſured the latter, " That the Aſſiento " was the only difficulty which ſtuck with their " maſters." Whereupon, at their deſire, a contract for that traffick was twice read to them; after which, they appeared very well ſatisfied, and ſaid, " They would go to the Hague, for farther in- " ſtructions." Thither they went; and after a week's abſence, returned the ſame anſwer, " That " they had no power to ſettle a ſcheme of peace; " but could only diſcourſe of it when the difficul- " ties of the Barrier-treaty were over." And Monſ. Buys took a journey to Amſterdam, on purpoſe to ſtir up that city, where he was penſionary,

againſt

againſt yielding the Aſſiento to Britain: but was unſucceſsful in his negociation; the point being yielded up there, and in moſt other towns in Holland.

It will have an odd ſound in hiſtory, and appear hardly credible, that in ſeveral petty republicks of ſingle towns, which make up the States General, it ſhould be formally debated, whether the queen of Great Britain, who preſerved the commonwealth at the charge of ſo many millions, ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy, after a peace, the liberty granted her by Spain, of ſelling African ſlaves in the Spaniſh dominions of America! But there was a prevailing faction at the Hague, violently bent againſt any peace, where the queen muſt act that part, which they had intended for themſelves. Theſe politicians, who held conſtant correſpondence with their old dejected friends in England, were daily fed with the vain hopes of the queen's death, or the party's reſtoration. They likewiſe endeavoured to ſpin out the time, till prince Eugene's activity had puſhed on ſome great event, which might govern or perplex the conditions of peace. Therefore the Dutch plenipotentiaries, who proceeded by the inſtructions of thoſe miſtaken patriots, acted in every point with a ſpirit of litigiouſneſs, than which nothing could give greater advantage to the enemy; a ſtrict union between the allies, but eſpecially Britain and Holland, being doubtleſs the only means for procuring ſafe and honourable terms from France.

But

But neither was this the worſt: for the queen received undoubted intelligence from Utrecht, that the Dutch were again attempting a ſeparate correſpondence with France; and by letters intercepted here from Vienna, it was found, that the Imperial court, whoſe miniſters were in the utmoſt confidence with thoſe of Holland, expreſſed the moſt furious rage againſt her majeſty, for the ſteps ſhe had taken to advance a peace.

This unjuſtifiable treatment the queen could not digeſt, from an ally upon whom ſhe had conferred ſo many ſignal obligations, whom ſhe had uſed with ſo much indulgence and ſincerity, during the whole courſe of the negociation, and had ſo often invited to go along with her, in every motion towards a peace. She apprehended likewiſe, that the negociation might be taken out of her hands, if France could be ſecure of eaſier conditions in Holland, or might think that Britain wanted power to influence the whole confederacy. She reſolved, therefore, on this occaſion, to exert herſelf with vigour, ſteadineſs, and diſpatch; and in the beginning of May, ſent her commands to the earl of Strafford, to repair immediately to England, in order to conſult with her miniſters what was proper to be done.

The propoſal abovementioned, for preventing the union of France and Spain, met with many difficulties; Monſ. De Torcy raiſing objections againſt ſeveral parts of it. But the queen refuſed to proceed any farther with France, until this weighty point were fully ſettled to her ſatisfaction; after which,

which, ſhe promiſed to grant a ſuſpenſion of arms, provided the town and citadel of Dunkirk might be delivered as a pledge into her hands; and propoſed that Ipres might be ſurrendered to the Dutch, if they would conſent to come into the ſuſpenſion. France abſolutely refuſed the latter; and the States General having acted in perpetual contradiction to her majeſty, ſhe preſſed that matter no farther, becauſe ſhe doubted they would not agree to a ceſſation of arms. However, ſhe reſolved to put a ſpeedy end, or at leaſt intermiſſion, to her own ſhare in the war: and the French having declared themſelves ready to agree to her expedients for preventing the union of the two crowns, and conſented to the delivery of Dunkirk, poſitive orders were ſent to the duke of Ormond, to avoid engaging in any battle or ſiege, until he had farther inſtructions: but he was directed to conceal his orders; and to find the beſt excuſes he could, if any preſſing occaſion ſhould offer.

The reaſons for this unuſual proceeding, which made a mighty noiſe, were of ſufficient weight to to juſtify it; for, purſuant to the agreement made between us and France, a courier was then diſpatched from Fontainbleau to Madrid, with the offer of an alternative to Philip, either of reſigning Spain immediately to the duke of Savoy, upon the hopes of ſucceeding to France, and ſome preſent advantage, which, not having been accepted, is needleſs to dilate on; or of adhering to Spain, and renouncing all future claim to France for himſelf and his poſterity.

Until

Until it could be known which part Philip would accept, the queen would not take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, nor ſuffer an armiſtice to be declared. But, however, ſince the moſt Chriſtian king had agreed that his grandſon ſhould be forced, in caſe of a refuſal, to make his choice immediately; her majeſty could not endure to think, that perhaps ſome thouſands of lives of her own ſubjects and allies might be ſacrificed without neceſſity, if an occaſion ſhould be found or ſought for fighting a battle; which, ſhe very well knew, prince Eugene would eagerly attempt, and put all into confuſion, to gratify his own ambition, the enmity of his new maſters the Dutch, and the rage of his court.

But the duke of Ormond, who, with every other quality that can accompliſh or adorn a great man, inherits all the valour and loyalty of his anceſtors, found it very difficult to acquit himſelf of his commiſſion; for prince Eugene, and all the field-deputies of the States, had begun already to talk either of attacking the enemy, or beſieging Queſnoy; the confederate army being now all joined by the troops they expected. And accordingly, about three days after the duke had received thoſe orders from court, it was propoſed to his grace, at a meeting with the prince and deputies, "That the French army "ſhould be attacked, their camp having been "viewed, and a great opportunity offering to do it "with ſucceſs; for the mareſchal De Villars, who "had notice ſent him by Monſ. De Torcy of what "was paſſing, and had ſignified the ſame by a "trumpet to the duke, ſhewed leſs vigilance than

"was

" was uſual to that general; taking no precautions " to ſecure his camp, or obſerve the motions of the " allies, probably on purpoſe to provoke them." The duke ſaid, " That the earl of Strafford's ſudden " departure for England made him believe there " was ſomething of conſequence now tranſacting, " which would be known in four or five days; and " therefore deſired they would defer this, or any " other undertaking, until he could receive freſh " letters from England." Whereupon the prince and deputies immediately told the duke, " That " they looked for ſuch an anſwer as he had given " them: That they had ſuſpected our meaſures for " ſome time; and their ſuſpicions were confirmed " by the expreſs his grace had ſo lately received, as " well as by the negligence of Monſ. Villars." They appeared extremely diſſatisfied; and the deputies told the duke, " That they would imme- " diately ſend an account of his anſwer to their " maſters:" which they accordingly did; and ſoon after, by order from the States, wrote him an expoſtulating letter, in a ſtyle leſs reſpectful than became them; deſiring him, among other things, to explain himſelf, whether he had poſitive orders not to fight the French; and afterwards told him, " They were ſure he had ſuch orders; otherwiſe " he could not anſwer what he had done." But the duke ſtill waved the queſtion; ſaying, " He " would be glad to have letters from England, be- " fore he entered upon action; and that he ex- " pected them daily."

Upon

Upon this incident, the miniſters and generals of the allies immediately took the alarm; vented their fury in very violent expreſſions againſt the queen, and thoſe ſhe employed in her councils; ſaid, "They were betrayed by Britain;" and aſſumed the countenance of thoſe who think they have received an injury, and are diſpoſed to return it.

The duke of Ormond's army conſiſted of eighteen thouſand of her majeſty's ſubjects, and about thirty thouſand hired from other princes, either wholly by the queen, or jointly by her and the States. The duke immediately informed the court of the diſpoſitions he found among the foreign generals upon this occaſion; and "that upon an exi-"gency, he could only depend on the Britiſh "troops adhering to him; thoſe of Hanover hav-"ing already determined to deſert to the Dutch, "and tempted the Danes to do the like; and that "he had reaſon to ſuppoſe the ſame of the reſt."

Upon the news arriving at Utrecht, that the duke of Ormond had refuſed to engage in any action againſt the enemy; the Dutch miniſters there went immediately to make their complaints to the lord privy-ſeal: aggravating the ſtrangeneſs of this proceeding, together with the conſequence of it, in the loſs of a moſt favourable opportunity of ruining the French army, and the diſcontent it muſt needs create in the whole body of the confederates; adding, "How hard it was, that they ſhould be kept "in the dark, and have no communication of "what was done, in a point which ſo nearly con-

" cerned them." They concluded, " That the " duke muſt needs have acted by orders ;" and deſired his lordſhip to write, both to court and to his grace, what they had now ſaid.

The biſhop anſwered, " That he knew nothing " of this fact, but what they had told him; and " therefore was not prepared with a reply to their " repreſentations: only, in general, he could ven- " ture to ſay, that this caſe appeared very like the " conduct of their field-deputies upon former oc- " caſions: That if ſuch orders were given, they " were certainly built upon very juſtifiable founda- " tions; and would ſoon be ſo explained, as to " convince the States and all the world, that the " common intereſt would be better provided for " another way, than by a battle or ſiege: That " the want of communication, which they com- " plained of, could not make the States ſo uneaſy, " as their declining to receive it, had made the " queen, who had uſed her utmoſt endeavours to " perſuade them to concur with her in concerting " every ſtep towards a general peace, and ſettling " ſuch a plan as both ſides might approve and ad- " here to; but, to this day, the States had not " thought fit to accept thoſe offers, or to authorize " any of their miniſters, to treat with her majeſty's " plenipotentiaries upon that affair, although they " had been preſſed to it ever ſince the negociation " began: That his lordſhip, to ſhew that he did " not ſpeak his private ſenſe alone, took this oppor- " tunity to execute the orders he had received the " evening before, by declaring to them, that all

" her

" her majeſty's offers for adjuſting the differences " between her and the States, were founded upon " this expreſs condition, That they ſhould come " immediately into the queen's meaſures, and act " openly and ſincerely with her; and that, from " their conduct ſo directly contrary, ſhe now " looked upon herſelf to be under no obligation to " them."

Monſieur Buys and his colleagues were ſtunned with this declaration, made to them at a time when they pretended to think the right of complaining to be on their ſide, and had come to the biſhop upon that errand. But, after their ſurprize was abated, and Buys's long reaſonings at an end, they began to think how matters might be retrieved; and were of opinion, that the States ſhould immediately diſpatch a miniſter to England, unleſs his lordſhip were empowered to treat with them; which, without new commands, he ſaid, he was not. They afterwards deſired to know of the biſhop, what the meaning was of the laſt words in his declaration, " That her majeſty looked upon " herſelf to be under no obligation to them." He told them his opinion, " That as the queen was " bound by treaty to concert with the States the " conditions of a peace; ſo, upon their declining " the concert ſo frequently offered, ſhe was ac- " quitted of that obligation: but that he verily " believed, whatever meaſures her majeſty ſhould " take, ſhe would always have a friendly regard " to the intereſt of their commonwealth; and " that, as their unkindneſs had been very unex-

" pected and diſagreeable to her majeſty, ſo their " compliance would be equally pleaſing."

I have been the more circumſtantial in relating this affair, becauſe it furniſhed abundance of diſcourſe, and gave riſe to many wild conjectures and miſrepreſentations, as well here as in Holland, eſpecially that part which concerned the duke of Ormond; for the angry faction in the houſe of commons, upon the firſt intelligence that the duke had declined to act offenſively againſt France, in concurrence with the allies, moved for an addreſs, wherein the queen ſhould be informed of " the " deep concern of her commons for the dangerous " conſequences to the common cauſe which muſt " ariſe from this proceeding of her general; and " to beſeech her, that ſpeedy inſtructions might " be given to the duke, to proſecute the war with " vigour, in order to quiet the minds of her people, " &c." But a great majority was againſt this motion; and a reſolution drawn up, and preſented to the queen by the whole houſe, of a quite contrary tenor: " That they had an entire confidence " in her majeſty's moſt gracious promiſe, to com- " municate to her parliament the terms of the " peace before the ſame ſhould be concluded; and " that they would ſupport her majeſty, in obtain- " ing an honourable and ſafe peace, againſt all ſuch " perſons, either at home or abroad, who have " endeavoured, or ſhall endeavour, to obſtruct the " ſame."

The courier ſent with the alternative to Spain was now returned, with an account that Philip

had choſen to renounce France, for himſelf, and his poſterity; whereof the queen having received notice, her majeſty, upon the 6th of June, in a long ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, laid before them the terms of a general peace, ſtipulated between her and France. This ſpeech being the plan whereby both France and the allies have been obliged to proceed in the ſubſequent courſe of the treaty, I ſhall deſire the reader's leave to inſert it at length, although I believe it has been already in moſt hands:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" The making of peace and war is the undoubted " prerogative of the crown. Yet ſuch is the juſt " confidence I place in you, that at the opening " of this ſeſſion, I acquainted you that a negoci- " ation for a general peace was begun; and after- " wards, by meſſages, I promiſed to communicate " to you the terms of peace, before the ſame ſhould " be concluded.

" In purſuance of that promiſe, I now come to " let you know upon what terms a general peace " may be made.

" I need not mention the difficulties which ariſe " from the very nature of this affair; and it is but " too apparent, that theſe difficulties have been " increaſed by other obſtructions, artfully contrived " to hinder this great and good work.

" Nothing, however, has moved me from " ſteadily purſuing, in the firſt place, the true " intereſts of my own kingdoms; and I have " not omitted any thing, which might procure to

" all our allies, what is due to them by treaties,
" and what is neceſſary for their ſecurity.

" The aſſuring of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, as
" by law eſtabliſhed, in the houſe of Hanover, to
" theſe kingdoms, being what I have neareſt at
" heart; particular care is taken, not only to have
" that acknowledged in the ſtrongeſt terms; but
" to have an additional ſecurity, by the removal
" of that perſon out of the dominions of France,
" who has pretended to diſturb this ſettlement.

" The apprehenſion that Spain and the Weſt
" Indies might be united to France, was the chief
" inducement to begin this war; and the effectual
" preventing of ſuch a union, was the principle I
" laid down at the commencement of this treaty:
" former examples, and the late negociations, ſuf-
" ficiently ſhew how difficult it is to find means to
" accompliſh this work. I would not content
" myſelf with ſuch as are ſpeculative, or depend
" on treaties only: I inſiſted on what was ſolid,
" and to have at hand the power of executing what
" ſhould be agreed.

" I can therefore now tell you, that France at
" laſt is brought to offer, that the duke of An-
" jou ſhall, for himſelf and his deſcendants, re-
" nounce for ever all claim to the crown of France;
" and, that this important article may be expoſed
" to no hazard, the performance is to accompany
" the promiſe.

" At the ſame time, the ſucceſſion to the crown
" of France is to be declared, after the death of
" the preſent dauphin and his ſons, to be in the

" duke

" duke of Berry and his ſons, in the duke of Or-
" leans and his ſons, and ſo on to the reſt of the
" houſe of Bourbon.

" As to Spain and the Indies, the ſucceſſion to
" thoſe dominions, after the duke of Anjou and his
" children, is to deſcend to ſuch prince as ſhall be
" agreed upon at the treaty; for ever excluding
" the reſt of the houſe of Bourbon.

" For confirming the renunciations and ſettle-
" ments before-mentioned, it is farther offered,
" that they ſhould be ratified in the moſt ſtrong
" and ſolemn manner, both in France and Spain;
" and that thoſe kingdoms, as well as all the other
" powers engaged in the preſent war, ſhall be gua-
" rantees to the ſame.

" The nature of this propoſal is ſuch, that it
" executes itſelf: the intereſt of Spain is, to ſup-
" port it; and in France, the perſons to whom
" that ſucceſſion is to belong, will be ready and
" powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

" France and Spain are now more effectually
" divided than ever. And thus, by the bleſſing of
" God, will a real balance of power be fixed in
" Europe, and remain liable to as few accidents,
" as human affairs can be exempted from.

" A treaty of commerce between theſe kingdoms
" and France has been entered upon; but the ex-
" ceſſive duties laid on ſome goods, and the pro-
" hibition of others, make it impoſſible to finiſh
" this work ſo ſoon as were to be deſired. Care
" is however taken to eſtabliſh a method of ſettling
" this matter; and in the mean time proviſion is

" made, that the ſame privileges and advantages as
" ſhall be granted to any other nation by France,
" ſhall be granted in like manner to us.

" The diviſion of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher,
" between us and the French, having been the
" cauſe of great inconveniency and damage to my
" ſubjects; I have demanded to have an abſolute
" ceſſion made to me of that whole iſland: and
" France agrees to this demand.

" Our intereſt is ſo deeply concerned in the
" trade of North America, that I have uſed my
" utmoſt endeavours to adjuſt that article in the
" moſt beneficial manner. France conſents to re-
" ſtore to us the whole Bay and Streights of Hud-
" ſon; to deliver up the iſland of Newfoundland,
" with Placentia; and to make an abſolute ceſſion
" of Annapolis, with the reſt of Nova Scotia or
" Accadie.

" The ſafety of our home trade will be better
" provided for, by the demolition of Dunkirk.

" Our Mediterranean trade, and the Britiſh in-
" tereſt and influence in thoſe parts, will be ſecure
" by the poſſeſſion of Gibraltar and Port Mahon,
" with the whole iſland of Minorca; which are
" offered to remain in my hands.

" The trade to Spain and to the Weſt Indies,
" may in general be ſettled as it was in the time of
" the late king of Spain Charles the Second; and
" a particular proviſion be made, that all advan-
" tages, rights, or privileges, which have been
" granted, or which may hereafter be granted, by
" Spain, to any other nation, ſhall be in like

" manner

" manner granted to the ſubjects of Great-Bri-
" tain.

" But, the part which we have borne in the
" proſecution of this war, entitling us to ſome
" diſtinction in the terms of peace, I have inſiſted,
" and obtained, that the Aſſiento, or contract for
" furniſhing the Spaniſh Weſt Indies with Ne-
" groes, ſhall be made with us, for the term of
" thirty years, in the ſame manner as has been en-
" joyed by the French, for ten years paſt.

" I have not taken upon me to determine the
" intereſts of our confederates: Theſe muſt be
" adjuſted in the congreſs at Utrecht; where my
" beſt endeavours ſhall be employed, as they have
" hitherto conſtantly been, to procure to every one
" of them all juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction. In
" the mean time, I think it proper to acquaint you,
" that France offers to make the Rhine the bar-
" rier of the Empire; to yield Briſack, the fort of
" Kehl, and Landau; and to raze all the fortreſſes
" both on the other ſide of the Rhine, and in that
" river.

" As to the Proteſtant intereſt in Germany;
" there will be, on the part of France, no objec-
" tion to the re-ſettling thereof, on the foot of the
" treaty of Weſtphalia.

" The Spaniſh Low Countries may go to his Im-
" perial majeſty; the kingdoms of Naples and Sar-
" dinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places be-
" longing to Spain on the coaſt of Tuſcany, may
" likewiſe be yielded by the treaty of peace to the
" emperor.

" As to the kingdom of Sicily; though there " remains no diſpute concerning the ceſſion of it " by the duke of Anjou, yet the diſpoſition there- " of is not yet determined.

" The intereſts of the States General with re- " ſpect to commerce, are agreed to, as they have " been demanded by their own miniſters, with the " exception only of ſome very few ſpecies of mer- " chandizes; and the entire barrier, as demanded " by the States in 1709 from France, except two " or three places at moſt.

" As to theſe exceptions, ſeveral expedients are " propoſed: and I make no doubt but this barrier " may be ſo ſettled, as to render that republick per- " fectly ſecure againſt any enterprize on the part " of France; which is the foundation of all my " engagements, upon this head, with the States.

" The demands of Portugal depending on the " diſpoſition of Spain, and that article having " been long in diſpute, it has not been yet poſſible " to make any conſiderable progreſs therein: but " my plenipotentiaries will now have an opportu- " nity to aſſiſt that king in his pretenſions.

" Thoſe of the king of Pruſſia are ſuch as, I " hope, will admit of little difficulty on the part " of France; and my utmoſt endeavours ſhall not " be wanting, to procure all I am able to ſo good " an ally.

" The difference between the barrier demanded " for the Duke of Savoy in 1709, and the offers " now made by France, is very inconſiderable: " but, that prince having ſo ſignally diſtinguiſhed

" himſelf

" himſelf in the ſervice of the common cauſe, I " am endeavouring to procure for him ſtill farther " advantages.

" France has conſented, that the elector Pala- " tine ſhall continue his preſent rank among the " electors, and remain in poſſeſſion of the Upper " Palatinate.

" The electoral dignity is likewiſe acknowledged " in the houſe of Hanover, according to the ar- " ticle inſerted, at that prince's deſire, in my de- " mands.

" And as to the reſt of the allies, I make no " doubt of being able to ſecure their ſeveral in- " tereſts.

" My lords, and gentlemen,

" I have now communicated to you not only " the terms of peace, which may, by the future " treaty, be obtained for my own ſubjects; but " likewiſe the propoſals of France, for ſatisfying " our allies.

" The former, are ſuch as I have reaſon to ex- " pect, to make my people ſome amends, for that " great and unequal burden which they have lain " under, through the whole courſe of this war; " and I am willing to hope that none of our confe- " derates, and eſpecially thoſe to whom ſo great " acceſſions of dominion and power are to ac- " crue by this peace, will envy Britain her ſhare " in the glory and advantage of it.

" The latter, are not ſo perfectly adjuſted, as " a little more time might have rendered them; " but,

" but, the ſeaſon of the year making it neceſſary " to put an end to this ſeſſion, I reſolved no " longer to defer communicating theſe matters to " you.

" I can make no doubt but you are all fully " perſuaded, that nothing will be neglected on my " part, in the progreſs of this negociation, to " bring the peace to a happy and ſpeedy iſſue; " and I depend on your entire confidence in me, " and your cheerful concurrence with me."

The diſcontented party in the houſe of commons, finding the torrent againſt them not to be ſtemmed, ſuſpended their oppoſition; by which means, an addreſs was voted, *nemine contradicente*, to acknowledge her majeſty's condeſcenſion, to expreſs their ſatisfaction in what ſhe had already done, and to deſire ſhe would pleaſe to proceed with the preſent negociations, for obtaining a ſpeedy peace.

During theſe tranſactions at home, the duke of Ormond was in a very uneaſy ſituation at the army, employed in practiſing thoſe arts, which perhaps are fitter for a ſubtle negociator, than a great commander. But, as he had always proved his obedience where courage or conduct could be of uſe; ſo, the duty he profeſſed to his prince, made him ſubmit to continue in a ſtate of inactivity at the head of his troops, however contrary to his nature, if it were for her majeſty's ſervice. He had ſent early notice to the miniſters, " That he could not " depend upon the foreign forces in the queen's " pay;" and he now found ſome attempts were already begun, to ſeduce them.

While

While the courier was expected from Madrid, the duke had orders to inform the mareſchal De Villars of the true ſtate of this affair; and "That "his grace would have deciſive orders in three or "four days." In the mean time, he deſired the mareſchal would not oblige him to come to any action, either to defend himſelf, or to join with prince Eugene's army; which he muſt neceſſarily do, if the prince were attacked.

When the courier was arrived, with the account that Philip had choſen to accept of Spain, her majeſty had propoſed to France a ſuſpenſion of arms for two months (to be prolonged to three or four) between the armies now in Flanders, upon the following conditions:

"That, during the ſuſpenſion, endeavours ſhould "be uſed for concluding a general peace; or, at "leaſt, the article for preventing the union of "France and Spain ſhould be punctually executed, "by Philip's renouncing France, for himſelf and "his poſterity; and the princes of Bourbon, in "like manner, renouncing Spain: and that the "town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk, ſhould be "immediately delivered into the queen's hands." Her majeſty, at the ſame time, endeavoured to get Cambray for the Dutch, provided they would come into the ſuſpenſion. But this was abſolutely rejected by France; which that court never would have ventured to do, if thoſe allies could have been prevailed on to have acted with ſincerity and openneſs, in concert with her majeſty, as her plenipotentiaries had always deſired. However, the queen promiſed, "That if the States would yield

"to

" to a ſuſpenſion of arms, they ſhould have ſome " valuable pledge put into their poſſeſſion."

But now freſh intelligence daily arrived, both from Utrecht and the army, of attempts to make the troops in her majeſty's pay deſert her ſervice; and a deſign even of ſeizing the Britiſh forces was whiſpered about, and with reaſon ſuſpected.

When the queen's ſpeech was publiſhed in Holland, the lord privy ſeal told the Dutch miniſters at Utrecht, " That what her majeſty had laid " before her parliament could not, according to the " rules of treaty, be looked on as the utmoſt of " what France would yield in the courſe of a nego- " ciation; but only the utmoſt of what that crown " would propoſe, in order to form the plan of a " peace: That theſe conditions would certainly " have been better, if the States had thought fit " to have gone hand in hand with her majeſty, " as ſhe had ſo frequently exhorted them to do: " That nothing but the want of harmony among " the allies, had ſpirited the French to ſtand out " ſo long: That the queen would do them all the " good offices in her power, if they thought fit " to comply; and did not doubt of getting them " reaſonable ſatisfaction, both in relation to their " barrier and their trade." But this reaſoning made no impreſſion. The Dutch miniſters ſaid, " The queen's ſpeech had deprived them of the " fruits of the war." They were in pain leſt Liſle and Tournay might be two of the towns to be excepted out of their barrier. The reſt of the allies grew angry, by the example of the Dutch.

The

The populace in Holland began to be inflamed: they publickly talked, "That Britain had betrayed "them." Sermons were preached in ſeveral towns of their provinces, whether by direction or connivance, filled with the higheſt inſtances of diſreſpect to her Britannic majeſty, whom they charged as a Papiſt, and an enemy to their country. The lord privy ſeal himſelf believed ſomething extraordinary was in agitation, and that his own perſon was in danger from the fury of the people.

It is certain that the States appeared, but a few days before, very much diſpoſed to comply with the meaſures the queen had taken; and would have conſented to a general armiſtice, if count Zinzendorf, one of the plenipotentiaries for the emperor, had not, by direct orders from his court, employed himſelf in ſowing jealouſies between Britain and the States; and at the ſame time made prodigious offers to the latter, as well as to the miniſters of Pruſſia, the Palatinate, and Hanover, for continuing the war. That thoſe three electors, who contributed nothing, except bodies of men in return of pay and ſubſidies, ſhould readily accept the propoſals of the emperor, is eaſy to be accounted for. What appears hardly credible is, that a grave republick, uſually cautious enough in making their bargains, ſhould venture to reject the thoughts of a peace upon the promiſes of the houſe of Auſtria, the little validity whereof they had ſo long experienced; and eſpecially when they counted upon loſing the ſupport of Britain, their moſt powerful ally: but the falſe hopes given them by their friends

friends in England, of ſome new change in their favour; or an imagination of bringing France to better terms, by the appearance of reſolution; added to the weakneſs or corruption of ſome who adminiſtered their affairs, were the true cauſes which firſt created, and afterwards inflamed, this untractable temper among them.

The Dutch miniſters were wholly diſconcerted and ſurprized, when the lord privy ſeal told them, "That a ſuſpenſion of arms in the Netherlands "would be neceſſary; and that the duke of Or-"mond intended very ſoon to declare it, after he "had taken poſſeſſion of Dunkirk." But his lordſhip endeavoured to convince them, that this incident ought rather to be a motive for haſtening the States into a compliance with her majeſty. He likewiſe communicated to the miniſters of the allies, the offers made by France, as delivered in the ſpeech from the throne, which her majeſty thought to be ſatisfactory; and hoped, "their maſters would "concur with her in bringing the peace to a ſpeedy "concluſion, wherein, each in particular, might "be aſſured of her beſt offices for advancing their "juſt pretenſions."

In the mean time the duke of Ormond was directed to ſend a body of troops to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, as ſoon as he ſhould have notice from the mareſchal De Villars that the commandant of the town had received orders from his court to deliver it. But the duke foreſaw many difficulties in the executing of this commiſſion. He could truſt ſuch an enterprize to no forces, except thoſe of

of her majeſty's own ſubjects. He conſidered the temper of the States in this conjuncture; and was loth to divide a ſmall body of men, upon whoſe faithfulneſs alone he could depend. He thought it not prudent to expoſe them to march through the enemy's country, with whom there was yet neither peace nor truce; and he had ſufficient reaſons to apprehend that the Dutch would either not permit ſuch a detachment to paſs through their towns, (as themſelves had more than hinted to him) or would ſeize them as they paſſed: beſides, the duke had fairly ſignified to mareſchal De Villars, "that he "expected to be deſerted by all the foreign troops "in her majeſty's pay, as ſoon as the armiſtice "ſhould be declared;" at which the mareſchal appearing extremely diſappointed, ſaid, "The king "his maſter reckoned, that all the troops under "his grace's command ſhould yield to the ceſſation; "and wondered how it ſhould come to paſs, that thoſe "who might be paid for lying ſtill, would rather "chooſe, after a ten years war, to enter into "the ſervice of new maſters, under whom they "muſt fight on for nothing." In ſhort, the opinion of Monſ. Villars was, "That this difficulty "cancelled the promiſe of ſurrendering Dunkirk;" which therefore he oppoſed as much as poſſible, in the letters he writ to his court.

Upon the duke of Ormond's repreſenting thoſe difficulties, the queen altered her meaſures, and ordered forces to be ſent from England to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk. The duke was likewiſe commanded to tell the foreign generals in her majeſty's ſervice,

how

how highly ſhe would reſent their deſertion; after which their maſters muſt give up all thoughts of any arrears, either of pay or ſubſidy. The lord privy ſeal ſpoke the ſame language at Utrecht, to the ſeveral miniſters of the allies, as Mr. ſecretary St. John did to thoſe who reſided here; adding, "That the proceeding of the foreign troops would "be looked upon as a declaration for, or againſt her "majeſty; and that in caſe they deſert her ſervice, "ſhe would look on herſelf as juſtified before God "and man, to continue her negociation at Utrecht, "or any other place, whether the allies concur or "not." And particularly the Dutch were aſſured, "That, if their maſters ſeduced the forces hired by "the queen, they muſt take the whole pay, ar- "rears, and ſubſidies, on themſelves."

The earl of Strafford, preparing about this time to return to Utrecht, with inſtructions proper to the preſent ſituation of affairs, went firſt to the army, and there informed the duke of Ormond of her majeſty's intentions. He alſo acquainted the States deputies with the queen's uneaſineſs, leſt, by the meaſures they were taking, they ſhould drive her to extremities, which ſhe deſired ſo much to avoid. He farther repreſented to them, in the plaineſt terms, the provocations her majeſty had received, and the grounds and reaſons for her preſent conduct. He likewiſe declared to the commanders in chief of the foreign troops in the queen's pay, and in the joint pay of Britain and the States, "with "how much ſurprize her majeſty had heard that "there was the leaſt doubt of their obeying the

"orders

" orders of the duke of Ormond; which if they " refuſed, her majeſty would eſteem it not only " as an indignity and affront, but as a declaration " againſt her; and in ſuch a caſe, they muſt look " on themſelves as no farther entitled either to any " arrear, or future pay, or ſubſidies."

Six regiments, under the command of Mr. Hill, were now preparing to embark, in order to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk; and the duke of Ormond, upon the firſt intelligence ſent him that the French were ready to deliver the town, was to declare, " He could act no longer againſt France." The queen gave notice immediately of her proceedings to the States. She let them plainly know, " That " their perpetual caballing with her factious ſub- " jects, againſt her authority, had forced her into " ſuch meaſures, as otherwiſe ſhe would not have " engaged in. However, her majeſty was willing " yet to forget all that had paſſed, and to unite " with them in the ſtricteſt ties of amity, which " ſhe hoped they would now do; ſince they could " not but be convinced, by the late dutiful ad- " dreſſes of both houſes, how far their high mighti- " neſſes had been deluded, and drawn in as in- " ſtruments to ſerve the turn, and gratify the paſ- " ſions, of a diſaffected party: That their oppo- " ſition, and want of concert with her majeſty's " miniſters, which ſhe had ſo often invited them " to, had encouraged France to except towns out " of their barrier, which otherwiſe might have " been yielded: That however, ſhe had not pre- " cluded them, or any other ally, from demand-

" ing more; and even her own terms were but " conditional, upon a ſuppoſition of a general " peace to enſue: That her majeſty reſolved to act " upon the plan laid down in her ſpeech." And ſhe repeated the promiſe of her beſt offices to promote the intereſt of the States, if they would deal ſincerely with her.

Some days before the duke of Ormond had notice that orders were given for the ſurrender of Dunkirk, prince Eugene of Savoy ſent for the generals of the allies, and aſked them ſeverally, " Whether, in caſe the armies ſeparated, they " would march with him, or ſtay with the duke?" All of them, except two, who commanded but ſmall bodies, agreed to join with the prince; who thereupon, about three days after, ſent the duke word, " That he intended to march the following " day (as it was ſuppoſed) to beſiege Landrecy." The duke returned an anſwer, " That he was ſur- " prized at the prince's meſſage, there having been " not the leaſt previous concert with him, nor " any mention in the meſſage, which way, or " upon what deſign, the march was intended: " therefore, that the duke could not reſolve to " march with him; much leſs could the prince " expect aſſiſtance from the queen's army, in " any deſign undertaken after this manner." The duke told this before-hand, that he (the prince) might take his meaſures accordingly, and not attribute to her majeſty's general, any miſfortune that might happen.

On

On the 16th of July, N. S. the ſeveral generals of the allies joined prince Eugene's army, and began their march, after taking leave of the duke and the earl of Strafford, whoſe expoſtulations could not prevail on them to ſtay; although the latter aſſured them, "That the queen had made "neither peace nor truce with France; and that "her forces would now be left expoſed to the ene-"my."

The next day after this famous deſertion, the duke of Ormond received a letter from Monſ. De Villars, with an account that the town and citadel of Dunkirk ſhould be delivered to Mr. Hill. Whereupon a ceſſation of arms was declared, by ſound of trumpet, at the head of the Britiſh army; which now conſiſted only of about eighteen thouſand men, all of her majeſty's ſubjects, except the Holſteiners, and count Wallis's dragoons. With this ſmall body of men the general began his march; and purſuant to orders from court, retired towards the ſea, in the manner he thought moſt convenient for the queen's ſervice. When he came as far as Flines, he was told by ſome of his officers, "That the commandants of Bouchain, Douay, "Liſle, and Tournay, had refuſed them paſſage "through thoſe towns, or even liberty of entrance; "and ſaid it was by order of their maſters." The duke immediately recollected, that when the deputies firſt heard of his reſolution to withdraw his troops, they told him, "They hoped he did not "intend to march through any of their towns." This made him conclude, that the orders muſt be

general, and that his army would certainly meet with the ſame treatment which his officers had done. He had likewiſe, before the armies ſeparated, received information of ſome deſigns that concerned the ſafety, or at leaſt the freedom, of his own perſon, and (which he much more valued) that of thoſe few Britiſh troops entruſted to his care. No general was ever more truly or deſervedly beloved by his ſoldiers, who, to a man, were prepared to ſacrifice their lives in his ſervice; and whoſe reſentments were raiſed to the utmoſt, by the ingratitude, as they termed it, of their deſerters.

Upon theſe provocations, he laid aſide all thoughts of returning to Dunkirk, and began to conſider how he might perform, in ſo difficult a conjuncture, ſomething important to the queen, and at the ſame time find a ſecure retreat for his forces. He formed his plan without communicating it to any perſon whatſoever; and the diſpoſition of the army being to march towards Warneton, in the way to Dunkirk, he gave ſudden orders to lieutenant-general Cadogan, to change his route (according to the military phraſe) and move towards Orchies, a town leading directly to Ghent.

When prince Eugene and the States deputies received news of the duke's motions, they were alarmed to the utmoſt degree; and ſent count Naſſau, of Wordenberg, to the general's camp near Orchies, to excuſe what had been done; and to aſſure his grace, "That thoſe commandants who had re-
"fuſed paſſage to his officers, had acted wholly
"without

« without orders." Count Hempſeck, one of the Dutch generals, came likewiſe to the duke with the ſame ſtory; but all this made little impreſſion on the general, who held on his march; and on the 23d of July, N. S. entered Ghent, where he was received with great ſubmiſſion by the inhabitants, and took poſſeſſion of the town, as he likewiſe did of Bruges a few days after.

The duke of Ormond thought, that conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the States towards Britain, it might be neceſſary for the queen to have ſome pledge from that republick in her hands, as well as from France; by which means her majeſty would be empowered to act the part that beſt became her, of being mediator at leaſt; and that while Ghent was in the queen's hands, no proviſions could paſs the Scheld or the Lis without her permiſſion, by which he had it in his power to ſtarve their army. The poſſeſſion of theſe towns, might likewiſe teach the Dutch and Imperialiſts, to preſerve a degree of decency and civility to her majeſty, which both of them were upon ſome occaſions too apt to forget: and beſides, there was already in the town of Ghent a battalion of Britiſh troops, and a detachment of five hundred men in the citadel, together with a great quantity of ammunition ſtores for the ſervice of the war, which would certainly have been ſeized or embezzled: ſo that no ſervice could be more ſeaſonable or uſeful in the preſent juncture, than this; which the queen highly approved, and left the duke a diſcretionary

power to act as he thought fit on any future emergency.

I have a little interrupted the order of time in relating the duke of Ormond's proceedings, who, after having placed a garriſon at Bruges, and ſent a ſupply of men and ammunition to Dunkirk, retired to Ghent, where he continued ſome months, till he had leave to return to England.

Upon the arrival of colonel Diſney at court, with an account that Mr. Hill had taken poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, a univerſal joy ſpread over the kingdom; this event being looked on as the certain fore-runner of a peace: beſides, the French faith was in ſo ill a reputation among us, that many perſons, otherwiſe ſanguine enough, could never bring themſelves to believe that the town would be delivered, till certain intelligence came that it was actually in our hands. Neither were the miniſters themſelves altogether at eaſe, or free from ſuſpicion, whatever countenance they made; for they knew very well that the French king had many plauſible reaſons to elude his promiſe, if he found cauſe to repent it; one condition of ſurrendering Dunkirk being a general armiſtice of all the troops in the Britiſh pay, which her majeſty was not able to perform; and upon this failure, the mareſchal De Villars (as we have before related) endeavoured to diſſuade his court from accepting the conditions; and in the very interval while thoſe difficulties were adjuſting, the mareſchal De Uxelles, one of the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht (whoſe inclinations, as well as thoſe of his colleague Monſ. Meſ-

nager, led him to favour the States more than Britain) assured the lord privy seal, "That the Dutch "were then pressing to enter into separate measures "with his master." And his lordship, in a visit to abbé De Polignac, observing a person to withdraw as he entered the abbé's chamber, was told by this minister, "That the person he saw was one "Moleau of Amsterdam, mentioned before, a fa-"mous agent for the States with France, who had "been entertaining him (the abbé) upon the same "subject; but that he had refused to treat with "Moleau, without the privity of England."

Mr. Harley, whom we mentioned above to have been sent early in the spring to Utrecht, continued longer in Holland than was at first expected; but, having received her majesty's farther instructions, was about this time arrived at Hanover. It was the misfortune of his electoral highness, to be very ill served by Monsr. Bothmar, his envoy here, who assisted at all the factious meetings of the discontented party, and deceived his master by a false representation of the kingdom, drawn from the opinion of those to whom he confined his conversation. There was likewise at the elector's court a little Frenchman, without any merit or consequence, called Robithan, who, by the assistance and encouragement of the last ministry, had insinuated himself into some degree of that prince's favour, which he used in giving his master the worst impressions he was able of those whom the queen employed in her service; insinuating, "That "the present ministers were not in the interest of

" his highneſs's family; that their views were to-
" wards the pretender; that they were making an
" unſecure and diſhonourable peace; that the
" weight of the nation was againſt them; and that
" it was impoſſible for them to preſerve much
" longer their credit or power."

The earl Rivers had, in the foregoing year, been ſent to Hanover, in order to undeceive the elector, and remove whatever prejudices might be infuſed into his highneſs againſt her majeſty's proceedings; but it ſhould ſeem that he had no very great ſucceſs in his negociation: for, ſoon after his return to England, Monſ. Bothmar's memorial appeared, in the manner I have already related, which diſcovered the ſentiments of his electoral highneſs (if they were truly repreſented in that memorial) to differ not a little from thoſe of the queen. Mr. Harley was therefore directed to take the firſt opportunity of ſpeaking to the elector in private; to aſſure him, " That, although her majeſty had
" thought herſelf juſtly provoked by the conduct
" of his miniſter, yet ſuch was her affection for his
" highneſs, and concern for the intereſts of his fa-
" mily, that inſtead of ſhewing the leaſt mark of re-
" ſentment, ſhe had choſen to ſend him (Mr. Har-
" ley) fully inſtructed to open her deſigns, and ſhew
" his highneſs the real intereſt of Britain in the
" preſent conjuncture." Mr. Harley was to give the elector a true account of what had paſſed in England, during the firſt part of this ſeſſion of parliament; to expoſe to his highneſs the weakneſs of thoſe with whom his miniſter had conſulted, and

under whoſe directions he had acted; to convince him how much lower that faction muſt become when a peace ſhould be concluded, and when the natural ſtrength of the kingdom, diſencumbered from the burden of the war, ſhould be at liberty to exert itſelf; to ſhew him how his intereſt in the ſucceſſion was ſacrificed to that of a party: "That his "highneſs had been hitherto a friend to both ſides; "but that the meaſures taken by his miniſters, had "tended only to ſet him at the head of one, in op-"poſition to the other:" To explain to the elector, how fully the ſafety of Europe was provided for by the plan of peace in her majeſty's ſpeech: and how little reaſon thoſe would appear to have, who complained the loudeſt of this plan, if it were compared either with our engagements to them when we began the war, or with their performances in the courſe of it.

Upon this occaſion, Mr. Harley was to obſerve to the elector, "That it ſhould rather be wondered "at, how the queen had brought France to offer "ſo much, than yet to offer no more; becauſe, as "ſoon as ever it appeared that her majeſty would "be at the head of this treaty, and that the in-"tereſts of Britain were to be provided for, ſuch en-"deavours were uſed to break off the negociation, "as are hardly to be paralleled; and the diſunion "thereby created among the allies, had given more "opportunities to the enemy of being ſlow in their "conceſſions, than any other meaſures might poſ-"ſibly have done: That this want of concert "among the allies, could not in any ſort be imputed

"to

" to the queen; who had all along invited " them to it with the greateſt earneſtneſs, as the " ſureſt means to bring France to reaſon: That ſhe " had always in a particular manner preſſed the " States General to come into the ſtricteſt union " with her, and opened to them her intentions " with the greateſt freedom; but finding that in- " ſtead of concurring with her majeſty, they were " daily carrying on intrigues to break off the ne- " gociation, and thereby deprive her of the advan- " tages ſhe might juſtly expect from the enſuing " peace, having no other way left, ſhe was forced " to act with France, as ſhe did, by herſelf: That " however, the queen had not taken upon herſelf " to determine the intereſts of the allies, who were " at liberty of inſiſting on farther pretenſions; " wherein her majeſty would not be wanting, to " ſupport them as far as ſhe was able, and improve " the conceſſions already made by France; in " which caſe, a good underſtanding and harmony " among the confederates, would yet be of the " greateſt uſe, for making the enemy more tractable " and eaſy."

I have been more particular in reciting the ſubſtance of Mr. Harley's inſtructions, becauſe it will ſerve as a recapitulation of what I have already ſaid upon this ſubject, and ſeems to ſet her majeſty's intentions and proceedings at this time in the cleareſt light.

After the ceſſation of arms declared by the duke of Ormond, upon the delivery of Dunkirk, the Britiſh plenipotentiaries very earneſtly preſſed thoſe of

of Holland to come into a general armiſtice; for, if the whole confederacy acted in conjunction, this would certainly be the beſt means for bringing the common enemy to reaſonable terms of peace: but the States, deluded by the boundleſs promiſes of count Zinzendorf, and the undertaking talent of prince Eugene, who dreaded the concluſion of the war, as the period of his glory, would not hear of a ceſſation. The loſs of eighteen thouſand Britons, was not a diminution of weight in the balance of ſuch an ally as the emperor, and ſuch a general as the prince. Beſides, they looked upon themſelves to be ſtill ſuperior to France in the field; and although their computation was certainly right in point of number, yet, in my opinion, the concluſion drawn from it was grounded upon a great miſtake. I have been aſſured by ſeveral perſons of our own country, and ſome foreigners of the firſt rank both for ſkill and ſtation in arms, that in moſt victories obtained in the preſent war, the Britiſh troops were ever employed in the poſt of danger and honour, and uſually began the attack; (being allowed to be naturally more fearleſs than the people of any other country) by which they were not only an example of courage to the reſt, but muſt be acknowledged, without partiality, to have governed the fortune of the day; ſince it is known enough, how ſmall a part of an army is generally engaged in any battle. It may likewiſe be added, that nothing is of greater moment in war than opinion. The French, by their frequent loſſes, which they chiefly attributed to the courage of our men, believed that a Britiſh general,

general, at the head of Britiſh troops, was not to be overcome; and the mareſchal De Villars was quickly ſenſible of the advantage he had got; for, in a very few days after the deſertion of the allies, happened the earl of Albemarle's diſgrace at Denain, by a feint of the mareſchal's, and a manifeſt failure, ſomewhere or other, both of courage and conduct on the ſide of the confederates; the blame of which was equally ſhared between prince Eugene and the earl; although it is certain, the duke of Ormond gave the latter timely warning of his danger; obſerving he was neither intrenched as he ought, nor provided with bridges ſufficient for the ſituation he was in, and at ſuch a diſtance from the main army.

The marquis De Torcy had likewiſe the ſame ſentiments, of what mighty conſequence thoſe few Britiſh battalions were to the confederate army; ſince he adviſed his maſter to deliver up Dunkirk, although the queen could not perform the condition underſtood, which was a ceſſation of arms of all the foreign forces in her pay.

It muſt be owned, that Monſ. De Torcy made great merit of this confidence that his maſter placed in the queen; and obſerving her majeſty's diſpleaſure againſt the Dutch, on account of their late proceedings, endeavoured to inflame it with aggravations enough; inſinuating, "That, ſince the States "had acted ſo ungratefully, the queen ſhould let "her forces join with thoſe of France, in order to "compel the confederates to a peace." But, although this overture were very tenderly hinted from

from the French court, her majeſty heard it with the utmoſt abhorrence; and ordered her ſecretary Mr. St. John (created about this time viſcount Bolingbroke) to tell Monſ. De Torcy, "That no pro-"vocations whatever ſhould tempt her to diſtreſs "her allies; but ſhe would endeavour to bring "them to reaſon by fair means, or leave them to "their own conduct: That if the former ſhould be "found impracticable, ſhe would then make her "own peace, and content herſelf with doing the "office of a mediator between both parties: but, "if the States ſhould at any time come to a better "mind, and ſuffer their miniſters to act in con-"junction with hers, ſhe would aſſert their juſt in-"tereſts to the utmoſt, and make no farther pro-"greſs in any treaty with France, until thoſe al-"lies received all reaſonable ſatisfaction, both as to "their barrier and their trade." The Britiſh plenipotentiaries were directed to give the ſame aſſurances to the Dutch miniſters at Utrecht; and withal to let them know, "That the queen was "determined, by their late conduct, to make peace "either with, or without them; but would much "rather chooſe the former."

There was, however, one advantage, which her majeſty reſolved to make by this defection of her foreigners. She had been led, by the miſtaken politicks of ſome years paſt, to involve herſelf in ſeveral guaranties with the princes of the North, which were in ſome ſort contradictory to one another: but this conduct of theirs wholly annulled all ſuch engagements, and left her at liberty to interpoſe

terpoſe in the affairs of thoſe parts of Europe, in ſuch a manner, as would beſt ſerve the intereſts of her own kingdoms, as well as that of the Proteſtant religion, and ſettle a due balance of power in the North.

The grand article for preventing the union of France and Spain, was to be executed during a ceſſation of arms. But many difficulties ariſing about that, and ſome other points of great importance to the common cauſe, which could not eaſily be adjuſted, either between the French and Britiſh plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, or by correſpondence between Monſ. De Torcy and the miniſtry here; the queen took the reſolution of ſending the lord viſcount Bolingbroke immediately to France, fully inſtructed in all her intentions, and authoriſed to negociate every thing neceſſary for ſettling the treaty of peace in ſuch a courſe, as might bring it to a happy and ſpeedy concluſion. He was empowered to agree to a general ſuſpenſion of arms, by ſea and land, between Great Britain, France, and Spain, to continue for four months, or until the concluſion of the peace; provided France and Spain would previouſly give poſitive aſſurances to make good the terms demanded by her majeſty for the duke of Savoy, and would likewiſe adjuſt and determine the forms of the ſeveral renunciations to be made by both thoſe crowns, in order to prevent their being ever united. The lord Bolingbroke was likewiſe authorized to ſettle ſome differences relating to the elector of Bavaria, for whoſe intereſts France was as much concerned, as her majeſty was for

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thoſe of the duke of Savoy; to explain all doubtful articles which particularly related to the advantages of Britain; to know the real *ultimatum*, as it is termed, of France upon the general plan of peace; and laſtly, to cut off all hopes from that court of ever bringing the queen to force her allies to a diſadvantageous peace; her majeſty reſolving to impoſe no ſcheme at all upon them, or to debar them from the liberty of endeavouring to obtain the beſt conditions they could.

The lord Bolingbroke went to France in the beginning of Auguſt; was received at court with particular marks of diſtinction and reſpect; and in a very few days, by his uſual addreſs and ability, performed every part of his commiſſion, extremely to the queen's content, and his own honour. He returned to England before the end of the month; but Mr. Prior, who went along with him, was left behind, to adjuſt whatever differences might remain or ariſe between the two crowns.

In the mean time, the general conferences at Utrecht, which for ſeveral weeks had been let fall, ſince the delivery of Dunkirk, were now reſumed. But, the Dutch ſtill declaring againſt a ſuſpenſion of arms, and refuſing to accept the queen's ſpeech as a plan to negociate upon, there was no progreſs made for ſome time in the great work of the peace. Whereupon the Britiſh plenipotentiaries told thoſe of the States, "That, if the queen's endeavours "could not procure more than the contents of her "ſpeech, or if the French ſhould ever fall ſhort of "what was there offered, the Dutch could blame

"none

" none but themſelves, who, by their conduct, " had rendered things difficult, that would other- " wiſe have been eaſy." However, her majeſty thought it prudent to keep the States ſtill in hopes of her good offices, to prevent them from taking the deſperate courſe of leaving themſelves wholly at the mercy of France; which was an expedient they formerly practiſed, and which a party among them was now inclined to adviſe.

While the congreſs at Utrecht remained in this inactive ſtate, the queen proceeded to perfect that important article for preventing the union of France and Spain. It was propoſed, and accepted, that Philip ſhould renounce France, for himſelf and his poſterity; and that the moſt Chriſtian king, and all the princes of his blood, ſhould in the like manner renounce Spain.

It muſt be confeſſed, that this project of renunciation lay under a great diſrepute, by the former practices of this very king Lewis XIV. purſuant to an abſurd notion among many in that kingdom, of a divine right annexed to proximity of blood, not to be controlled by any human law.

But it is plain the French themſelves had recourſe to this method, after all their infractions of it, ſince the Pyrenean treaty; for the firſt dauphin, in whom the original claim was veſted, renounced for himſelf and his eldeſt ſon, which opened the way to Philip duke of Anjou; who would however hardly have ſucceeded, if it had not been for the will made in his favour by the laſt king, Charles II.

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It is indeed hard to reflect with any patience, upon the unaccountable ſtupidity of the princes of Europe for ſome centuries paſt, who left a probability to France of ſucceeding, in a few ages, to all their dominions; while, at the ſame time, no alliance with that kingdom could be of advantage to any prince, by reaſon of the Salique law. Should not common prudence have taught every ſovereign in Chriſtendom, to enact a Salique law with reſpect to France? for want of which, it is almoſt a miracle that the Bourbon family has not poſſeſſed the univerſal monarchy by right of inheritance. When the French aſſert that a proximity of blood gives a divine right, as ſome of their miniſters (who ought to be more wiſe or honeſt) have lately advanced in this very caſe to the title of Spain; do they not, by allowing a French ſucceſſion, make their own kings uſurpers? Or, if the Salique law be divine, is it not of univerſal obligation, and conſequently of force to exclude France from inheriting by daughters? Or, laſtly, if that law be of human inſtitution, may it not be enacted in any ſtate, with whatever extent or limitation the legiſlature ſhall think fit? for the notion of an unchangeable human law, is an abſurdity in government, to be believed only by ignorance, and ſupported by power. Hence it follows, that the children of the late queen of France, although ſhe had renounced, were as legally excluded from ſucceeding to Spain, as if the Salique law had been fundamental in that kingdom; ſince that excluſion was eſtabliſhed by every power in Spain which could poſſibly give a ſanction to any

law there; and therefore the duke of Anjou's title is wholly founded upon the bequeſt of his predeceſſor (which has great authority in that monarchy, as it formerly had in ours) upon the confirmation of the cortes, and the general conſent of the people.

It is certain, the faith of princes is ſo frequently ſubſervient to their ambition, that renunciations have little validity, otherwiſe than from the powers and parties whoſe intereſt it is to ſupport them. But this renunciation, which the queen has exacted from the French king and his grandſon, I take to be armed with all the eſſential circumſtances that can fortify ſuch an act: for, as it is neceſſary for the ſecurity of every prince in Europe, that thoſe two great kingdoms ſhould never be united; ſo the chief among them will readily conſent to be guarantees for preventing ſuch a misfortune.

Beſides, this propoſal (according to her majeſty's expreſſion in her ſpeech) is of ſuch a nature, that it executes itſelf; becauſe the Spaniards, who dread ſuch a union for every reaſon that can have weight among men, took care that their king ſhould not only renounce in the moſt ſolemn manner; but likewiſe that the act ſhould be framed in the ſtrongeſt terms themſelves could invent, or we could furniſh them with. As to France, upon ſuppoſal of the young dauphin's dying in a few years, that kingdom will not be in a condition to engage in a long war againſt a powerful alliance, fortified with the addition of the Spaniards, and the party of the duke of Berry, or whoever elſe ſhall

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be next claimer: and the longer the preſent dauphin lives, the weaker muſt Philip's intereſt be in France; becauſe the princes who are to ſucceed by this renunciation, will have moſt power and credit in the kingdom.

The miſchiefs occaſioned by the want of a good underſtanding between the allies, eſpecially Britain and Holland, were increaſed every day; the French taking the advantage, and raiſing difficulties, not only upon the general plan of peace, but likewiſe upon the explanation of ſeveral articles in the projected treaty between them and her majeſty. They inſiſted to have Liſle, as the equivalent for Dunkirk: and demanded Tournay, Maubeuge, and Condé, for the two or three towns mentioned in the queen's ſpeech, which the Britiſh plenipotentiaries were ſo far from allowing, that they refuſed to confer with thoſe of France upon that foot; although at the ſame time, the former had freſh apprehenſions that the Dutch, in a fit of deſpair, would accept whatever terms the enemy pleaſed to offer, and, by precipitating their own peace, prevent her majeſty from obtaining any advantages, both for her allies and herſelf.

It is moſt certain that the repeated loſſes ſuffered by the States, in little more than two months after they had withdrawn themſelves from the queen's aſſiſtance, did wholly diſconcert their counſels; and their prudence (as it is uſual) began to forſake them with their good fortune. They were ſo weak as to be ſtill deluded by their friends in England, who continued to give them hopes of ſome mighty

and immediate reſource from hence; for, when the duke of Ormond had been about a month in Ghent, he received a letter from the mareſchal De Villars, to inform him, "That the Dutch generals "taken at Denain had told the mareſchal publicly "of a ſudden revolution expected in Britain; that "particularly the earl of Albemarle and Monſ. "Hompeſch diſcourſed very freely of it; and that "nothing was more commonly talked of in Hol-"land." It was then likewiſe confidently reported in Ghent, that the queen was dead; and we all remember what rumour flew about here at the very ſame time, as if her majeſty's health were in a bad condition.

Whether ſuch vain hopes as theſe gave ſpirit to the Dutch; whether their frequent misfortunes made them angry and ſullen; whether they ſtill expected to over-reach us by ſome private ſtipulations with France, through the mediation of the elector of Bavaria, as that prince afterwards gave out; or whatever elſe was the cauſe; they utterly refuſed a ceſſation of arms, and made not the leaſt return to all the advances and invitations made by her majeſty, until the cloſe of the campaign.

It was then the States firſt began to view their affairs in another light; to conſider how little the vaſt promiſes of count Zinzendorf were to be relied on; to be convinced that France was not diſpoſed to break with her majeſty, only to gratify their ill-humour, or unreaſonable demands; to diſcover that their factious correſpondents on this ſide the water had ſhamefully miſled them; that ſome of their

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own principal towns grew heartily weary of the war, and backward in their loans; and, laſtly, that prince Eugene, their new general, whether his genius or fortune had left him, was not for their turn. They, therefore, directed their miniſters at Utrecht to ſignify to the lord privy ſeal and the earl of Strafford, "That the States were diſpoſed to "comply with her majeſty, and to deſire her good "offices with France; particularly, that Tournay "and Condé might be left to them as part of their "barrier, without which they could not be ſafe: "That the elector of Bavaria might not be ſuffered "to retain any town in the Netherlands, which "would be as bad for Holland as if thoſe places "were in the hands of France: Therefore the "States propoſed, that Luxembourg, Namur, "Charleroy, and Nieuport, might be delivered to "the emperor: Laſtly, That the French might not "inſiſt on excepting the four ſpecies of goods out "of the tariff of 1664: That, if her majeſty could "prevail with France to ſatisfy their maſters on "theſe articles, they would be ready to ſubmit in "all the reſt."

When the queen received an account of this good diſpoſition in the States General, immediately orders were ſent to Mr. Prior, to inform the miniſters of the French court, "That her majeſty had now "ſome hopes of the Dutch complying with her "meaſures; and therefore ſhe reſolved, as ſhe had "always declared, whenever thoſe allies came to "themſelves, not to make the peace without their "reaſonable ſatisfaction." The difficulty that moſt

preſſed was, about the diſpoſal of Tournay and Condé. The Dutch inſiſted ſtrongly to have both, and the French were extremely unwilling to part with either.

The queen judged the former would ſuffice for completing the barrier of the States. Mr. Prior was therefore directed to preſs the marquis De Torcy effectually on this head; and to terminate all that miniſter's objections, by aſſuring him of her majeſty's reſolution to appear openly on the ſide of the Dutch, if this demand were refuſed. It was thought convenient to act in this reſolute manner with France; whoſe late ſucceſs againſt Holland, had taught the miniſters of the moſt Chriſtian king, to reſume their old imperious manner of treating with that republick; to which they were farther encouraged by the ill underſtanding between her majeſty and the allies.

This appeared from the reſult of an idle quarrel that happened, about the end of Auguſt, at Utrecht, between a French and a Dutch plenipotentiary, Monſ. Meſnager and count Rechteren; wherein the court of France demanded ſuch abject ſubmiſſions, and with ſo much haughtineſs, as plainly ſhewed they were pleaſed with any occaſion of mortifying the Dutch.

Beſides, the politicks of the French ran at this time very oppoſite to thoſe of Britain. They thought the miniſters here durſt not meet the parliament without a peace; and that therefore, her majeſty would either force the States to comply with France, by delivering up Tournay, which was

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the principal point in diſpute; or would finiſh her own peace with France and Spain, leaving a fixed time for Holland to refuſe or accept the terms impoſed on them. But the queen, who thought the demand of Tournay by the States to be very neceſſary and juſt, was determined to inſiſt upon it; and to declare openly againſt France, rather than ſuffer her ally to want a place ſo uſeful for their barrier. And Mr. Prior was ordered to ſignify this reſolution of her majeſty to Monſ. De Torcy, in caſe that miniſter could not be otherwiſe prevailed on.

The Britiſh plenipotentiaries did likewiſe, at the ſame time, expreſs to thoſe of Holland, her majeſty's great ſatisfaction, "That the States were at "laſt diſpoſed to act in confidence with her: That "ſhe wiſhed this reſolution had been ſooner taken, "ſince nobody had gained by the delay but the "French king: That however, her majeſty did "not queſtion the procuring of a ſafe and honour-"able peace, by united counſels, reaſonable de-"mands, and prudent meaſures: That ſhe would "aſſiſt them in getting whatever was neceſſary to "their barrier, and in ſettling to their ſatisfaction "the exceptions made by France out of the tariff "of 1664: That no other difficulties remained of "moment to retard the peace, ſince the queen had "obtained Sicily for the duke of Savoy; and in "the ſettlement of the Low Countries, would ad-"here to what ſhe delivered from the throne: That "as to the Empire, her majeſty heartily wiſhed their "barrier as good as could be deſired, but that we

" were not now in circumſtances to expect every " thing exactly according to the ſcheme of Hol- " land: France had already offered a great part; " and the queen did not think the remainder worth " the continuance of the war."

Her majeſty conceived the peace in ſo much forwardneſs, that ſhe thought fit, about this time, to nominate the duke Hamilton, and the lord Lexington, for ambaſſadors in France and Spain, to receive the renunciations in both courts, and adjuſt matters of commerce.

The duke was preparing for his journey, when he was challenged to a duel by the lord Mohun, a perſon of infamous character. He killed his adverſary upon the ſpot, though he himſelf received a wound; and weakened by the loſs of blood, as he was leaning in the arms of his ſecond, was moſt barbarouſly ſtabbed in the breaſt by lieutenant-general Macartney, who was ſecond to lord Mohun. He died a few minutes after in the field, and the murderer made his eſcape. I thought ſo ſurpriſing an event might deſerve barely to be related, although it be ſomething foreign to my ſubject.

The earl of Strafford, who had come to England in May laſt, in order to give her majeſty an account of the diſpoſition of affairs in Holland, was now returning with her laſt inſtructions, to let the Dutch miniſter know, " That ſome points would probably " meet with difficulties not to be overcome, which " once might have been eaſily obtained: To ſhew " what evil conſequences had already flowed from " their delay and irreſolution; and to entreat them

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" to fix on ſome propoſition, reaſonable in itſelf, as
" well as poſſible to be effected: That the queen
" would inſiſt upon the ceſſion of Tournay by
" France, provided the States would concur in
" finiſhing the peace, without ſtarting new objec-
" tions, or inſiſting upon farther points: That the
" French demands, in favour of the elector of Ba-
" varia, appeared to be ſuch as the queen was of
" opinion the States ought to agree to; which
" were, to leave the elector in poſſeſſion of Lux-
" emburg, Namur, and Charleroy, ſubject to the
" terms of their barrier, until he ſhould be reſtored
" to his electorate; and to give him the kingdom
" of Sardinia, to efface the ſtain of his degradation
" in the electoral college: That the earl had brought
" over a project of a new treaty of ſucceſſion and
" barrier, which her majeſty inſiſted the States
" ſhould ſign, before the concluſion of the peace;
" the former treaty having been diſadvantageous to
" her ſubjects, containing in it the ſeeds of future
" diſſentions, and condemned by the ſenſe of the
" nation: Laſtly, that her majeſty, notwithſtand-
" ing all provocations, had, for the ſake of the
" Dutch, and in hopes of their recovery from thoſe
" falſe notions which had ſo long miſled them, hi-
" therto kept the negociations open: That the of-
" fers now made them were her laſt, and this the
" laſt time ſhe would apply to them: That they
" muſt either agree, or expect the queen would
" proceed immediately to conclude her treaty with
" France and Spain, in conjunction with ſuch of
" her allies as would think fit to adhere to her.

" As to Savoy; that the queen expected the " States would concur with her in making good " the advantages ſtipulated for that duke, and in " prevailing with the emperor to conſent to an ab- " ſolute neutrality in Italy, until the peace ſhould " be concluded."

The governing party in Holland, however in appearance diſpoſed to finiſh, affected new delays; and raiſed many difficulties about the four ſpecies of goods, which the French had excepted out of the tariff. Count Zinzendorf, the emperor's plenipotentiary, did all that was poſſible to keep up this humour in the Dutch, in hopes to put them under a neceſſity of preparing for the next campaign; and ſome time after went ſo far in this purſuit, that he ſummoned the ſeveral miniſters of the empire, and told them he had letters from his maſter, with orders to ſignify to them, " That his Imperial ma- " jeſty reſolved to begin the campaign early, with " all his forces united, againſt France; of which " he deſired they would ſend notice to all their " courts, that the ſeveral princes might be ready to " furniſh their contingents and recruits." At the ſame time, Zinzendorf endeavoured to borrow two millions of florins upon the ſecurity of ſome Imperial cities; but could not ſucceed either among the Jews or at Amſterdam.

When the earl of Strafford arrived at Utrecht, the lord privy ſeal and he communicated to the Dutch miniſters the new treaty for a ſucceſſion and barrier, as the queen had ordered it to be prepared here in England, differing from the former in ſe- ver

veral points of the greateſt moment, obvious to any who will be at the pains to compare them. This was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, for ſeveral weeks, by the plenipotentiaries of the States. But the province of Utrecht, where the congreſs was held, immediately ſent orders to their repreſentatives at the Hague, to declare their province thankful to the queen: "That they agreed the peace ſhould be made on the "terms propoſed by France, and conſented to the "new-projected treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion." And about the cloſe of the year 1712, four of the ſeven provinces had delivered their opinions for putting an end to the war.

This unuſual precipitation in the States, ſo different from the whole tenour of their former conduct, was very much ſuſpected by the Britiſh plenipotentiaries. Their lordſhips had received intelligence, "That the Dutch miniſters held frequent "conferences with thoſe of France, and had offered "to ſettle their intereſts with that crown, without "the concurrence of Britain." Count Zinzendorf and his colleagues appeared likewiſe all on the ſudden to have the ſame diſpoſitions, and to be in great haſte to ſettle their ſeveral differences with the States. The reaſons for this proceeding were viſible enough. Many difficulties were yet undetermined in the treaty of commerce between her majeſty and France; for the adjuſting of which, and ſome other points, the queen had lately diſpatched the duke of Shrewſbury to that court. Some of theſe were of hard digeſtion, with which the moſt Chriſtian king would not be under a neceſſity of complying, when he

he had no farther occaſion for us, and might, upon that account, afford better terms to the other two powers. Beſides, the emperor and the States could very well ſpare her majeſty the honour of being arbitrator of a general peace; and the latter hoped, by this means, to avoid the new treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion, which were now forcing on them.

To prevent the conſequences of this evil, there fortunately fell out an incident, which the two lords at Utrecht knew well how to make uſe of. The quarrel between Monſ. Meſnager and Count Richteren (formerly mentionod) had not yet been made up. The French and Dutch differing in ſome circumſtances, about the ſatisfaction to be given by the count for the affront he had offered, the Britiſh plenipotentiaries kept this diſpute on foot for ſeveral days; and in the mean time, preſſed the Dutch to finiſh the new treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion between her majeſty and them, which about the middle of January was concluded fully to the queen's ſatisfaction.

But, while theſe debates and differences continued at the congreſs, the queen reſolved to put a ſpeedy end to her part in the war. She therefore ſent orders to the lord privy ſeal and the earl of Strafford, to prepare every thing neceſſary for ſigning her own treaty with France. This ſhe hoped might be done againſt the meeting of her parliament, now prorogued to the third of February; in which time, thoſe among the allies who were really inclined towards a peace, might ſettle their ſeveral intereſts, by the aſſiſtance and ſupport of her majeſty's plenipotentiaries;

nipotentiaries; and as for the reſt, who would either refuſe to comply, or endeavour to protract the negociation, the heads of their reſpective demands, which France had yielded by her majeſty's intervention, and agreeable to the plan laid down in her ſpeech, ſhould be mentioned in the treaty; and a time limited for the ſeveral powers concerned to receive or reject them.

The pretender was not yet gone out of France, upon ſome difficulties alledged by the French, about procuring him a ſafe conduct to Bar-le-duc in the duke of Lorrain's dominions, where it was then propoſed he ſhould reſide. The queen, altogether bent upon quieting the minds of her ſubjects, declared, "She would not ſign the peace till that "perſon were removed;" although ſeveral wiſe men believed he could be no where leſs dangerous to Britain, than in the place where he was.

The argument which moſt prevailed on the States to ſign the new treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion with Britain, was, her majeſty's promiſe to procure Tournay for them from France; after which, no more differences remained between us and that republick; and conſequently they had no farther temptations to any ſeparate tranſactions with the French, who thereupon began to renew their litigious and haughty manner of treating with the Dutch. The ſatisfaction they extorted for the affront given by count Richteren to Monſ. Meſnager, although ſomewhat ſoftened by the Britiſh miniſters at Utrecht, was yet ſo rigorous, that her majeſty could not forbear ſignifying her reſentment of it

to

to the moſt Chriſtian king. Monſ. Meſnager, who ſeemed to have more the genius of a merchant than a miniſter, began, in his conferences with the plenipotentiaries of the States, to raiſe new diſputes upon points which both we and they had reckoned upon as wholly ſettled. The abbé De Polignac, a moſt accompliſhed perſon, of great generoſity and univerſal underſtanding, was gone to France, to receive the cardinal's cap; and the mareſchal D'Uxelles was wholly guided by his colleague Monſ. Meſnager, who kept up thoſe brangles that for a time obſtructed the peace; ſome of which were againſt all juſtice, and others of ſmall importance, both of very little advantage to his country, and leſs to the reputation of his maſter or himſelf. This low talent in buſineſs, which the cardinal De Polignac uſed, in contempt, to call a Spirit of Negociating, made it impoſſible for the two lords plenipotentiaries, with all their abilities and experience, to bring Meſnager to reaſon, in ſeveral points both with us and the States. His conceſſions were few and conſtrained, ſerving only to render him more tenacious of what he refuſed. In ſeveral of the towns which the States were to keep, he inſiſted, "That France ſhould retain the chatellanies, or extent of country depending on them, particularly "that of Tournay;" a demand the more unjuſtifiable, becauſe he knew his maſter had not only proceeded directly contrary, but had erected a court in his kingdom, where his own judges extended the territories about thoſe towns he had taken as far as he pleaſed to direct them. Monſ. Meſnager ſhewed equal

equal obſtinacy in what his maſter expected for the elector of Bavaria, and in refuſing the tariff of 1664: ſo that the queen's plenipotentiaries repreſented theſe difficulties as what might be of dangerous conſequence, both to the peace in general, and to the States in particular, if they were not ſpeedily prevented.

Upon theſe conſiderations, her majeſty thought it her ſhorteſt and ſafeſt courſe to apply directly to France, where ſhe had then ſo able a miniſter as the duke of Shrewſbury.

The marquis De Torcy, ſecretary to the moſt Chriſtian king, was the miniſter with whom the duke was to treat, as having been the firſt who moved his maſter to apply to the queen for a peace, in oppoſition to a violent faction in that kingdom, who were as eagerly bent to continue the war, as any other could be, either here or in Holland.

It would be very unlike an hiſtorian, to refuſe this great miniſter the praiſe he ſo juſtly deſerves, of having treated, through the whole courſe of ſo great a negociation, with the utmoſt candour and integrity; never once failing in any promiſe he made, and tempering a firm zeal to his maſter's intereſt, with a ready compliance to what was reaſonable and juſt. Mr. Prior, whom I have formerly mentioned, reſided likewiſe now at Paris, with the character of a miniſter plenipotentiary; and was very acceptable to that court, upon the ſcore of his wit and humour.

The duke of Shrewſbury was directed to preſs the French court upon the points yet unſettled in

the treaty of commerce between both crowns: To make them drop their unreaſonable demands for the elector of Bavaria: To let them know, "That "the queen was reſolved not to forſake her allies, "who were now ready to come in; that ſhe "thought the beſt way of haſtening the general "peace was, to determine her own particular one "with France, until which time ſhe could not con- "veniently ſuffer her parliament to meet."

The States were by this time ſo fully convinced of the queen's ſincerity and affection to their republick, and how much they had been deceived by the inſinuations of the factious party in England, that they wrote a very humble letter to her majeſty, to deſire her aſſiſtance towards ſettling thoſe points they had in diſpute with France, and profeſſing themſelves ready to acquieſce in whatever explanation her majeſty would pleaſe to make of the plan propoſed in her ſpeech to the parliament.

But the queen had already prevented their deſires; and in the beginning of February, 1712-13, directed the duke of Shrewſbury to inform the French court, "That, ſince ſhe had prevailed on "her allies the Dutch to drop the demand of "Condé, and the other of the four ſpecies of goods "which the French had excepted out of the tariff "of 1664, ſhe would not ſign without them: That "ſhe approved of the Dutch inſiſting to have the "chattellanies reſtored with the towns; and was "reſolved to ſtand or fall with them, until they "were ſatisfied in this point."

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Her majeſty had ſome apprehenſions that the French created theſe difficulties, on purpoſe to ſpin out the treaty until the campaign ſhould begin. They thought it abſolutely neceſſary that our parliament ſhould meet in a few weeks; which could not well be ventured, until the queen were able to tell both houſes, that her own peace was ſigned: That this would not only facilitate what remained in difference between Britain and France, but leave the Dutch entirely at the mercy of the latter.

The queen, weary of theſe refined miſtakes in the French politicks, and fully reſolved to be trifled with no longer, ſent her determinate orders to the duke of Shrewſbury, to let France know, "That "her majeſty had hitherto prorogued her parliament, in hopes of accommodating the difficulties "in her own treaties of peace and commerce with "that crown, as well as ſettling the intereſts of "her ſeveral allies; or at leaſt, that the differences "in the former being removed, the moſt Chriſtian "king would have made ſuch offers for the latter, "as might juſtify her majeſty in ſigning her own "peace, whether the confederates intended to ſign "theirs or not. But, ſeveral points being yet unfiniſhed between both crowns, and others between "France and the reſt of the allies, eſpecially the "States, to which the plenipotentiaries of that "court at Utrecht had not thought fit to give ſatisfaction; the queen was now come to a final determination, both with relation to her own kingdoms, and to the whole alliance: That the campaign approaching, ſhe would not willingly be

" ſurprized in caſe the war was to go on: That ſhe " had tranſmitted to the duke of Shrewſbury her " laſt reſolutions, and never would be prevailed on " to reduce her own demands, or thoſe of her al- " lies, any lower than the ſcheme now ſent over, " as an explanation of the plan laid down in her " ſpeech: That her majeſty had ſent orders to her " plenipotentiaries at Utrecht to aſſume the cha- " racter of ambaſſadors, and ſign the peace imme- " diately with the miniſters of the moſt Chriſtian " king, as ſoon as the duke of Shrewſbury ſhould " have ſent them notice that the French had com- " plied: That the queen had therefore farther pro- " rogued her parliament to the third of March, in " hopes to aſſure them, by that time, of her peace " being agreed on; for, if the two houſes ſhould " meet, while any uncertainty remained, ſupplies " muſt be aſked as for a war."

The duke of Shrewſbury executed this important commiſſion with that ſpeed and ſucceſs, which could only be expected from an able miniſter. The French king immediately yielded to the whole ſcheme her majeſty propoſed; whereupon directions were ſent to the lord privy-ſeal, and the earl of Strafford, to ſign a peace between Great Britain and France, without delay.

Upon the ſecond day of March, the two Britiſh plenipotentiaries met thoſe of the allies in the town-houſe at Utrecht; where the lord privy-ſeal addreſſed himſelf to them in a ſhort ſpeech: " That " the negociation had now continued fourteen " months with great ſlowneſs, which had proved

" very

" very injurious to the intereſts of the allies: That " the queen had ſtaid thus long, and ſtopped the " finiſhing of her own peace, rather than leave her " allies in any uncertainty: That ſhe hoped they " would now be all prepared to put an end to this " great work; and therefore had commanded her " plenipotentiaries to tell thoſe of the allies, That " ſhe found it neceſſary to conclude her own treaty " immediately; and it was her opinion, that the " confederates ought to finiſh theirs at the ſame " time; to which they were now accordingly in- " vited, by her majeſty's orders." And laſtly, his lordſhip declared, in the queen's name, " That " whoever could not be ready on the day prefixed, " ſhould have a convenient time allowed them to " come in."

Although the orders ſent by the queen to her plenipotentiaries were very preciſe, yet their lordſhips did not precipitate the performance of them, they were directed to appoint as ſhort a day for the ſigning as they conveniently could; but, however, the particular day was left to their diſcretion. They hoped to bring over the Dutch, and moſt of the other allies, to conclude at the ſame time with the queen; which as it would certainly be more popular to their country, ſo they conceived it would be more ſafe for themſelves. Beſides, upon looking over their commiſſion, a ſcruple ſprang in their minds, that they could not ſign a particular peace with France; their powers, as they apprehended, authorizing them only to ſign a general one. Their lordſhips therefore ſent to England, to deſire new

powers; and, in the mean time, employed themſelves with great induſtry, between the miniſters of France and thoſe of the ſeveral allies, to find ſome expedient for ſmoothing the way to an agreement among them.

The earl of Strafford went for a few days to the Hague, to inform the States of her majeſty's expreſs commands to his colleague and himſelf, for ſigning the peace as ſoon as poſſible; and to deſire they would be ready at the ſame time: which the penſionary promiſed; and that their plenipotentiaries ſhould be empowered accordingly, to the great contentment of Monſ. Buys, who was now ſo much altered, either in reality or appearance, that he complained to the earl of Monſ. Heinſius's ſlowneſs: and charged all the delays and miſmanagements of a twelvemonth paſt, to that miniſter's account.

While the earl of Strafford ſtaid at the Hague, he diſcovered that an emiſſary of the duke of Marlborough's had been there ſome days before, ſent by his grace to diſſuade the Dutch from ſigning at the ſame time with the miniſters of the queen, which, in England, would at leaſt have the appearance of a ſeparate peace, and oblige their Britiſh friends, who knew how to turn ſo ſhort a delay to very good account, as well as gratify the emperor; on whom, it was alledged, they ought to rely much more than on her majeſty. One of the States likewiſe told the earl, "That the ſame perſon em-
"ployed by the duke was then in conference with
"the magiſtrates of Rotterdam (which town had
"declared

" declared for the continuance of the war) to af-
" ſure them, if they would hold off a little, they
" ſhould ſee an unexpected turn in the Britiſh par-
" liament: That the duke of Marlborough had a
" liſt of the diſcontented members in both houſes,
" who were ready to turn againſt the court: and
" to crown all, that his grace had certain intelli-
" gence of the queen being in ſo ill a ſtate of
" health, as made it impoſſible for her to live above
" ſix weeks." So reſtleſs and indefatigable are ava-rice and ambition, when inflamed by a deſire of re-venge!

But repreſentations which had been ſo often tried, were now offered too late. Moſt of the allies, ex-cept the emperor, were willing to put an end to the war upon her majeſty's plan; and the farther delay of three weeks muſt be chiefly imputed to that liti-gious manner of treating peculiar to the French; whoſe plenipotentiaries at Utrecht inſiſted with ob-ſtinacy upon many points, which at Paris Monſ. De Torcy had given up.

The emperor expected to keep all he already poſ-ſeſſed in Italy; that Port Longue, on the Tuſcan coaſt, ſhould be delivered to him by France; and laſtly, that he ſhould not be obliged to renounce Spain. But the queen, as well as France, thought that his Imperial majeſty ought to ſit down con-tented with his partage of Naples and Milan; and to reſtore thoſe territories in Italy which he had taken from the rightful proprietors, and by the poſ-ſeſſion of which he was grown dangerous to the

Italian princes, by reviving antiquated claims upon them.

This prince had likewiſe objected to her majeſty's expedient of ſuffering the elector of Bavaria to retain Luxembourg, under certain conditions, by way of ſecurity, until his electorate were reſtored. But the queen, ſuppoſing that theſe affected delays were intended only with a view of continuing the war, reſolved to defer the peace no longer on the emperor's account.

In the middle of March 1712-13, a courier arrived at Utrecht from France, with the plan of a general peace, as it had been agreed between the duke of Shrewſbury and Monſ. De Torcy; wherein every particular relating to the intereſts and pretenſions of the ſeveral allies, was brought ſo near to what each of them would accept, that the Britiſh plenipotentiaries hoped the peace would be general in ten or twelve days. The Portugueſe and Dutch were already prepared, and others were daily coming in, by means of their lordſhips good offices, who found Monſ. Meſnager and his colleague very ſtubborn to the laſt. Another courier was diſpatched to France, upon ſome diſputes about inſerting the titles of her majeſty and the moſt Chriſtian king; and to bring a general plan for the intereſts of thoſe allies, who ſhould not be ready againſt the time prefixed. The French renunciations were now arrived at Utrecht; and it was agreed that thoſe, as well as that of the king of Spain, ſhould be inſerted at length in every treaty; by which means

means the whole confederacy would become guarantees of them.

The courier laſt ſent to France returned to Utrecht on the 27th of March, with the conceſſions of that court upon every neceſſary point; ſo that, all things being ready for putting a period to this great and difficult work, the lord privy-ſeal and the earl of Strafford gave notice to the miniſters of the ſeveral allies, "That their lordſhips had appointed Tueſday the 31ſt inſtant, wherein to ſign a treaty of peace and a treaty of commerce, between the queen of Great Britain their miſtreſs, and the moſt Chriſtian king; and hoped the ſaid allies would be prepared at the ſame time to follow their example." Accordingly their lordſhips employed the three intervening days, in ſmoothing the few difficulties that remained between the French miniſters, and thoſe of the ſeveral confederate powers.

The important day being now come, the lord biſhop of Briſtol and the earl of Strafford, having aſſumed the character of ambaſſadors extraordinary, gave a memorial in behalf of the French Proteſtants to the mareſchal D'Uxelles and his colleague, who were to tranſmit it to their court; and theſe delivered to the Britiſh ambaſſadors a declaration in writing, that the pretender was actually gone out of France.

The conditions of peace to be allowed the emperor and the empire, as adjuſted between Britain and France, were now likewiſe delivered to the count Zinzendorf. Theſe and ſome other previous

matters of ſmaller conſequence being finiſhed, the treaties of peace and commerce between her majeſty of Britain and the moſt Chriſtian king, were ſigned at the lord privy-ſeal's houſe, between two and three of the clock in the afternoon. The miniſters of the duke of Savoy ſigned about an hour after. Then the aſſembly adjourned to the earl of Strafford's, where they all went to dinner; and about nine at night the peace was ſigned by the miniſters of Portugal, by thoſe of Pruſſia at eleven, and when it was near midnight, by the States.

Thus, after all the oppoſition raiſed by a ſtrong party in France, and by a virulent faction in Britain; after all the artifices of thoſe who preſided at the Hague, who, for their private intereſt, endeavoured, in conjunction with their friends in England, to prolong the war; after the reſtleſs endeavours of the Imperial court to render the treaty ineffectual; the firm ſteady conduct of the queen, the wiſdom and courage of her miniſtry, and the abilities of thoſe whom ſhe employed in her negociations abroad, prevailed to have a peace ſigned in one day, by every power concerned, except that of the emperor and the empire; for, his Imperial majeſty liked his ſituation too well, to think of a peace, while the drudgery and expences of the war lay upon other ſhoulders, and the advantages were to redound only to himſelf.

During this whole negociation, the king of Spain, who was not acknowledged by any of the confederates, had conſequently no miniſter at Utrecht; but the differences between her majeſty and that

prince,

prince, were eaſily ſettled by the Lord Lexington at Madrid, and the marquis of Monteleon here: ſo that, upon the duke D'Oſſuna's arrival at the congreſs, ſome days after the peace, he was ready to conclude a treaty between the queen and his maſter. Neither is it probable that the Dutch, or any other ally, except the emperor, will encounter any difficulties of moment, to retard their ſeveral treaties with his Catholic majeſty.

The treaties of peace and commerce between Britain and France were ratified here on the 7th of April; on the 28th, the ratifications were exchanged; and on the 5th of May, the peace was proclaimed in the uſual manner; but with louder acclamations, and more extraordiuary rejoicings of the people, than had ever been remembered on the like occaſion.

SOME FREE THOUGHTS UPON THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS.

Written in the Year 1714.

ABOUT a month before the demiſe of queen Anne, the dean having laboured to reconcile the miniſters to each other without ſucceſs, retired to the houſe of a friend in Berkſhire, and never ſaw them more. But during this retreat he wrote the following treatiſe, which he thought might be of ſome uſe even in that juncture, and ſent it up to London to be printed; but, upon ſome difference in opinion between the author and the late lord Bolingbroke, the publication was delayed till the queen's death, and then he recalled his copy: it was afterwards placed in the hands of the late alderman Barber, from whom it was obtained to be printed. The ruin of the miniſtry, by this animoſity among themſelves, was long foreſeen and foretold by Swift, and it appears by lord Bolingbroke's letter to ſir William Windham, that in his heart he renounced his friendſhip for Oxford long before the concluſion of the peace, though it did not appear till afterwards. "The peace, ſays he, which had "been judged to be the only ſolid foundation whereupon we "could erect a tory-ſyſtem, and yet when it was made we "found ourſelves at a ſtand; nay the very work, which ought "to have been the baſis of our ſtrength, was in part demoliſhed "before our eyes, and we were ſtoned with the ruins of it." This event probably rendered the diſunion of the miniſtry viſible; ſome, principally endeavouring to ſecure themſelves, ſome, ſtill labouring to eſtabliſh at all events the party they had eſpouſed, which ſaw nothing but "encreaſe of mortification, "and nearer approaches to ruin," and it is not to be wondered at, that when this treatiſe was written, the dean's attempts to reconcile his friends were unſucceſsful; for Bolingbroke declares, that he abhorred Oxford to ſuch a degree, that he would rather have ſuffered baniſhment or death, than have taken meaſures in concert with him to have avoided either.

SOME FREE THOUGHTS UPON THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS.

Written in the Year 1714.

WHATEVER may be thought or practiſed by profound politicians, they will hardly be able to convince the reaſonable part of mankind, that the moſt plain, ſhort, eaſy, ſafe, and lawful way to any good end, is not more eligible, than one directly contrary to ſome or all of theſe qualities. I have been frequently aſſured by great miniſters, that politicks were nothing but common ſenſe; which, as it was the only true thing they ſpoke, ſo it was the only thing they could have wiſhed I ſhould not believe. God has given the bulk of mankind a capacity to underſtand reaſon, when it is fairly offered; and by reaſon they would eaſily be governed, if it were left to their choice. Thoſe princes in all ages, who were moſt diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed for their myſterious ſkill in government, found by the event, that they had ill conſulted their own quiet, or the eaſe and happineſs of their people; nor has poſterity remembered them with honour: ſuch as Lyſander and Philip among the Greeks, Tiberius in Rome, Pope Alexander the Sixth and his ſon Cæſar Borgia, queen Catherine de Medicis, Philip the Second of Spain, with many others. Nor are examples leſs frequent of miniſters, * famed for men of great intrigue, whoſe politicks have produced little more than murmurings, factions, and diſcontents, which uſually terminated in the diſgrace and ruin of the authors.

I can recollect but three occaſions in a ſtate, where the talents of ſuch men may be thought neceſſary; I mean in a ſtate where the prince is obeyed and loved by his ſubjects: firſt, in the negociation of the peace; ſecondly, in adjuſting the intereſts of our own country with thoſe of the nations round us, watching the ſeveral motions of our neighbours and allies, and preſerving a due balance among them: laſtly, in the management of parties and factions at home. In the firſt of theſe caſes I have often heard it obſerved, that plain good ſenſe, and a firm adherence to the point, have proved more effectual than all thoſe arts, which I remember a great foreign miniſter uſed in contempt to call the ſpirit of negociating. In the ſecond caſe, much wiſdom, and a thorough know-

* This expreſſion, '*famed for men* of deep intrigue,' is very inaccurate; it ſhould be—famed for *being* men, *&c.*—Or, famed as men of deep intrigue.

ledge in affairs both foreign and domeſtick, are certainly required: after which, I know no talents neceſſary beſide method and ſkill in the common forms of buſineſs. In the laſt caſe, which is that of managing parties, there ſeems indeed to be more occaſion for employing this gift of the lower politicks, whenever the tide runs high againſt the court and miniſtry; which ſeldom happens under any tolerable adminiſtration, while the true intereſt of the nation is purſued. But, here in England, (for I do not pretend to eſtabliſh maxims of government in general) while the prince and miniſtry, the clergy, the majority of landed-men, and the bulk of the people appear to have the ſame views and the ſame principles, it is not obvious to me, how thoſe at the helm can have many opportunities of ſhewing their ſkill in myſtery and refinement, beſide what themſelves think fit to create.

I have been aſſured by men long practiſed in buſineſs, that the ſecrets of court are much fewer than we generally ſuppoſe; and I hold it for the greateſt ſecret of court, that they are ſo: becauſe the firſt ſprings of great events, like thoſe of great rivers, are often ſo mean and ſo little, that in decency they ought to be hid: and therefore miniſters are * ſo wiſe to leave their proceedings to be accounted for by reaſoners at a diſtance, who often mould them into ſyſtems, that do not only go down very well in the coffee-houſe, but are ſup-

* It ſhould be—'ſo wiſe *as* to leave,' &c.

plies

plies for pamphlets in the preſent age, and may probably furniſh materials for memoirs and hiſtories in the next.

It is true indeed, that even thoſe who are very near the court, and are ſuppoſed to have a large ſhare in the management of publick matters, are apt to deduce wrong conſequences, by reaſoning upon the cauſes and motives of thoſe actions, wherein themſelves are employed. A great miniſter puts you a caſe, and aſks your opinion, but conceals an eſſential circumſtance, upon which the whole weight of the matter turns; then he deſpiſes your underſtanding for counſelling him no better, and concludes he ought to truſt entirely to his own wiſdom. Thus he grows to abound in ſecrets and reſerves, even towards thoſe with whom he ought to act in the greateſt confidence and concert; and thus the world is brought to judge, that whatever be the iſſue and event, it was all foreſeen, contrived, and brought to paſs by ſome maſter-ſtroke of his politicks.

I could produce innumerable inſtances, from my own memory and obſervation, of events imputed to the profound ſkill and addreſs of a miniſter, which in reality were either the mere effects of negligence, weakneſs, humour, paſſion, or pride; or at beſt, but the natural courſe of things left to themſelves.

During this very ſeſſion of parliament, a moſt ingenious gentleman, who has much credit with thoſe in power, would needs have it, that in the late diſſentions at court, which grew too high to be

be any longer a ſecret, the whole matter was carried with the utmoſt dexterity on one ſide, and with manifeſt ill conduct on the other. To prove this he made uſe of the moſt plauſible topicks, drawn from the nature and diſpoſition of the ſeveral perſons concerned, as well as of her majeſty; all which he knows as much of as any man: and gave me a detail of the whole with ſuch an appearance of probability, as committed to writing would paſs for an admirable piece of ſecret hiſtory. Yet I am at the ſame time convinced by the ſtrongeſt reaſons, that the iſſue of thoſe diſſenſions, as to the part they had in the court and the houſe of lords, was partly owing to very different cauſes, and partly to the ſituation of affairs, whence, in that conjuncture, they could not eaſily terminate otherwiſe than they did, whatever unhappy conſequences they may have for the future.

In like manner I have heard a phyſician pronounce with great gravity, that he had cured ſo many patients of malignant fevers, and as many more of the ſmall-pox; whereas in truth nine parts in ten of thoſe who recovered, owed their lives to the ſtrength of nature and a good conſtitution, while ſuch a one happened to be their doctor.

But, while it is ſo difficult to learn the ſprings and motives of ſome facts, and ſo eaſy to forget the circumſtances of others, it is no wonder they ſhould be ſo groſly miſrepreſented to the publick by curious inquiſitive heads, who proceed altogether upon conjectures, and in reaſoning upon affairs of

ſtate, are ſure to be miſtaken by ſearching too deep. And as I have known this to be the frequent error of many others, ſo I am ſure it has been perpetually mine, whenever I have attempted to diſcover the cauſes of political events by refinement and conjecture; which I muſt acknowledge has very much abated my veneration for what they call *arcana imperii*; whereof I dare pronounce, that the fewer there are in any adminiſtration, it is juſt ſo much the better.

What I have hitherto ſaid, has by no means been intended to detract from the qualities requiſite in thoſe, who are truſted with the adminiſtration of publick affairs; on the contrary, I know no ſtation of life, where great abilities and virtues of all kinds are ſo highly neceſſary, and where the want of any is ſo quickly or univerſally felt. A great miniſter has no virtue, for which the publick may not be the better; nor any defect, by which the publick is not certainly a ſufferer. I have known more than once or twice within four years paſt, an omiſſion, in appearance very ſmall, prove almoſt fatal to a whole ſcheme, and very hardly retrieved. It is not always ſufficient for the perſon at the helm, that he is intrepid in his nature, free from any tincture of avarice or corruption, and that he has great natural and acquired abilities.

I never thought the reputation of much ſecrecy, was a character of any advantage to a miniſter, becauſe it put all other men upon their guard to be as ſecret as he, and was conſequently the occaſion that perſons and things were always miſrepreſented

to

to him: becauſe likewiſe, too great an affectation of ſecrecy, is uſually thought to be attended with thoſe little intrigues and refinements, which, among the vulgar, denominate a man a great politician; but among others, is apt, whether deſervedly or not, to acquire the opinion of cunning: a talent, which differs as much from the true knowledge of government, as that of an attorney from an able lawyer. Neither indeed am I altogether convinced, that this habit of multiplying ſecrets, may not be carried on ſo far, as to ſtop that communication, which is neceſſary, in ſome degree, among all who have any conſiderable part in the management of publick affairs: becauſe I have obſerved the inconveniencies ariſing from a want of love between thoſe who were to give directions, to have been of as ill conſequence, as any that could happen from the diſcovery of ſecrets. I ſuppoſe, when a building is to be erected, the model may be the contrivance only of one head; and it is ſufficient that the under-workmen be ordered to cut ſtones into certain ſhapes, and place them in certain poſitions: but the ſeveral maſter-builders muſt have ſome general knowledge of the deſign, without which they can give no orders at all. And, indeed, I do not know a greater mark of an able miniſter, than that of rightly adapting the ſeveral faculties of men; nor is any thing more to be lamented, than the impracticableneſs of doing this in any great degree, under our preſent circumſtances; while ſo many ſhut themſelves out by adhering to a faction, and while the court is enſlaved to the impatience of

others, who desire to sell their vote or their interest, as dear as they can. But whether this has not been submitted to more than was necessary, whether it has not been dangerous in the example, and pernicious in the practice, I will leave to the enquiry of those who can better determine.

It may be matter of no little admiration to consider, in some lights, the state of affairs among us for four years past. The queen, finding herself and the majority of her kingdom grown weary of the avarice and insolence, the mistaken politicks, and destructive principles of her former ministers, calls to the service of the publick another set of men, who, by confession of their enemies, had equal abilities at least with their predecessors; whose interest made it necessary for them (although their inclinations had been otherwise) to act upon those maxims which were most agreeable to the constitution in church and state; whose birth and patrimonies gave them weight in the nation; and who (I speak of those who were to have the chief part in affairs) had long lived under the strictest bonds of friendship: with all these advantages, supported by a vast majority of the landed interest, and the inferior clergy almost to a man, we have several times seen the present administration in the greatest distress, and very near the brink of ruin, together with the cause of the church and monarchy committed to their charge; neither does it appear to me at the minute I am now writing, that their power or duration are upon any tolerable foot of security: which I do not so much impute

to the addreſs and induſtry of their enemies, as to ſome failures among themſelves, which I think have been full as viſible in their cauſes, as their effects.

Nothing has given me greater indignation, than to behold a miniſtry, who came with the advantages I have repreſented, acting ever ſince upon the defenſive in the houſe of lords, with a majority on their ſide; and inſtead of calling others to account, as it was reaſonably expected, miſpending their time, and loſing many opportunities of doing good, becauſe a ſtruggling faction kept them continually in play. This courage among the adverſaries of the court, was inſpired into them by various incidents, for every one of which I think the miniſters, or, (if that was the caſe) the miniſter alone is to anſwer.

For, firſt, that race of politicians, who in the cant phraſe are called the *whimſicals* *, was never ſo numerous, or at leaſt ſo active, as it has been ſince the great change at court; many of thoſe who pretended wholly to be in with the principles upon which her majeſty and her new ſervants proceeded, either abſenting themſelves with the utmoſt indifference, in thoſe conjunctures whereon the whole cauſe depended, or ſiding directly with the enemy.

* Whimſicals, were tories who had been eager for the concluſion of the peace till the treaties were perfected, then they could come up to no direct approbation; in the clamour raiſed about the danger of the ſucceſſion, they joined the whigs, and declared directly againſt their party, and affected in moſt other points a moſt glorious neutrality. See Bolin. Lett. to Wynd. p. 48, 49.

I very well remember, when this miniſtry was not above a year old, there was a little murmuring among ſuch as are called the higher tories or churchmen, that quicker progreſs was not made in removing thoſe of the diſcontented party out of employments. I remember likewiſe, the reaſonings upon this matter were various, even among many who were allowed to know a good deal of the inſide of the court; ſome ſuppoſed the queen was at firſt prevailed upon to make that great change, with no other view, than that of acting for the future upon a moderating ſcheme, in order to reconcile both parties; and I believe there might poſſibly have been ſome grounds for this ſuppoſition. Others conceived the employments were left undiſpoſed of, in order to keep alive the hopes of many more impatient candidates, than ever could be gratified. This has ſince been looked on as a very high ſtrain of politicks, and to have ſucceeded accordingly; becauſe it is the opinion of many, that the numerous pretenders to places would never have been kept in order, if all expectation had been cut off. Others were yet more refined; and thought it neither wiſe nor ſafe wholly to extinguiſh all oppoſition from the other ſide; becauſe, in the nature of things, it was abſolutely neceſſary that there ſhould be parties in an Engliſh parliament; and a faction already odious to the people, might be ſuffered to continue with leſs danger, than any new one that could ariſe. To confirm this it was ſaid, that the majority in the houſe of commons was too great on the ſide of

the high-church, and began to form themſelves into a body (by the name of the October-club) in order to put the miniſtry under ſubjection. Laſtly, the danger of introducing too great a number of unexperienced men at once into office, was urged as an irrefragable reaſon for making changes by ſlow degrees. To diſcard an able officer from an employment, or part of a commiſſion, where the revenue or trade were concerned, for no other reaſon but differing in ſome principles of government, might be of terrible conſequence.

However it is certain, that none of theſe excuſes were able to paſs among men, who argued only from the principles of general reaſon. For firſt, they looked upon all ſchemes of comprehenſion, to be as viſionary and impoſſible in the ſtate, as in the church. Secondly, while the ſpirit raiſed by the trial of Dr. Sacheverell continued in motion, men were not ſo keen upon coming in themſelves, as to ſee their enemies out, and deprived of all aſſiſtance to do miſchief: and it is urged farther, that this general ambition of hunting after places, grew chiefly from ſeeing them ſo long undiſpoſed of, and from too general an encouragement by promiſes to all, who were thought capable of doing either good or hurt. Thirdly, the fear of creating another party, in caſe the preſent faction were wholly ſubdued, was, in the opinion of plain men, and in regard to the ſituation of our affairs, too great a ſacrifice of the nation's ſafety to the genius of politicks; conſidering how much was to be done, and how little time might pro-

bably be allowed. Beſides, the diviſion of a houſe of commons into court and country parties, which was the evil they ſeemed to apprehend, could never be dangerous to a good miniſtry, who had the true intereſt and conſtitution of their country at heart: as for the apprehenſion of too great a majority in the houſe of commons, it appeared to be ſo vain, that upon ſome points of importance the court was hardly able to procure one. And the October-club, which appeared ſo formidable at firſt to ſome politicians, proved in the ſequel to be the chief ſupport of thoſe who ſuſpected them. It was likewiſe very well known that the greateſt part of thoſe men, whom the former miniſtry left in poſſeſſion of employments, were loudly charged with inſufficiency or corruption, over and above their obnoxious tenets in religion and government; ſo that it would have been a matter of ſome difficulty to make a worſe choice: beſides, that the plea for keeping men of factious principles in employment upon the ſcore of their abilities, was thought to be extended a little too far, and conſtrued to take in all employments whatſoever, although many of them required no more abilities than would ſerve to qualify a gentleman-uſher at court: ſo that this laſt excuſe for the very ſlow ſteps made in diſarming the adverſaries of the crown, was allowed indeed to have more plauſibility, but leſs truth, than any of the former.

I do not here pretend to condemn the counſels or actions of the preſent miniſtry: their ſafety and intereſt are viſibly united with thoſe of the publick, they

they are perſons of unqueſtionable abilities, altogether unſuſpected of avarice or corruption, and have the advantage to be farther recommended by the dread and hatred of the oppoſite faction. However, it is manifeſt that the zeal of their friends has been cooling towards them for above two years paſt: they have been frequently deſerted or diſtreſſed upon the moſt preſſing occaſions, and very near giving up in deſpair: their characters have been often treated with the utmoſt barbarity and injuſtice, in both houſes, by ſcurrilous and enraged orators; while their neareſt friends, and even thoſe who muſt have a ſhare in their diſgrace, never offered a word in their vindication.

When I examine with myſelf what occaſions the miniſtry may have given for this coldneſs, inconſtancy, and diſcontent among their friends, I at the ſame time recollect the various conjectures, reaſonings, and ſuſpicions, which have run ſo freely for three years paſt, concerning the deſigns of the court: I do not only mean ſuch conjectures, as are born in a coffee-houſe, or invented by the malice of a party; but alſo the concluſions (however miſtaken) of wiſe and good men, whoſe quality and ſtation fitted them to underſtand the reaſon of publick proceedings, and in whoſe power it lay to recommend or diſgrace an adminiſtration to the people. I muſt therefore take the boldneſs to aſſert, that all theſe diſcontents, how ruinous ſoever they may prove in the conſequences, have moſt unneceſſarily ariſen from the want of a due communication and concert. Every man muſt have a light

ſufficient

ſufficient for the length of the way he is appointed to go: there is a degree of confidence due to all ſtations; and a petty conſtable will neither act cheerfully or wiſely, without that ſhare of it which properly belongs to him: although the main ſpring of a watch be out of ſight, there is an intermediate communication between it and the ſmalleſt wheel, or elſe no uſeful motion could be performed. This reſerved myſterious way of acting, upon points, where there appeared not the leaſt occaſion for it, and towards perſons, who, at leaſt in right of their poſts, expected a more open treatment, was imputed to ſome hidden deſign, which every man conjectured to be the very thing he was moſt afraid of. Thoſe who profeſſed the height of what is called the church principle, ſuſpected, that a comprehenſion was intended, wherein the moderate men on both ſides might be equally employed. Others went farther, and dreaded ſuch a comprehenſion, as directly tending to bring the old exploded principles and perſons once more into play. Again, ſome affected to be uneaſy about the ſucceſſion, and ſeemed to think there was a view of introducing that perſon, whatever he is, who pretends to claim the crown by inheritance. Others, eſpecially of late, ſurmiſed on the contrary, that the demands of the houſe of Hanover were induſtriouſly fomented by ſome in power, without the privity of the —— or ——. Now, although theſe accuſations were too inconſiſtent to be all of them true, yet they were maliciouſly ſuffered to paſs, and thereby took off much of that popularity, of which

which thoſe at the helm ſtood in need, to ſupport them under the difficulties of a long perplexing negociation, a daily addition of publick debts, and an exhauſted treaſury.

But the effects of this myſtical manner of proceeding did not end here: for, the late diſſenſions between the great men at court (which have been, for ſome time paſt, the public entertainment of every coffee-houſe) are ſaid to have ariſen from the ſame fountain; while, on one ſide very great reſerve, and certainly very great reſentment on the other, if we may believe general report (for I pretend to know no farther) have enflamed animoſities to ſuch a height, as to make all reconcilement impracticable. Suppoſing this to be true, it may ſerve for a great leſſon of humiliation to mankind, to behold the habits and paſſions of men, otherwiſe highly accompliſhed, triumphing over intereſt, friendſhip, honour, and their own perſonal ſafety, as well as that of their country, and probably of a moſt gracious princeſs, who has entruſted it to them. A ſhip's crew quarrelling in a ſtorm, or while their enemies are within gun-ſhot, is but a faint idea of this fatal infatuation: of which, although it be hard to ſay enough, ſome people may think perhaps I have already ſaid too much.

Since this unhappy incident, the deſertion of friends, and loſs of reputation have been ſo great, that I do not ſee how the miniſters could have continued many weeks in their ſtations, if their oppoſers of all kinds had agreed about the methods by which they ſhould be ruined: and their preſervation hitherto ſeems to reſemble his, who had

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two poiſons given him together of contrary operations.

It may ſeem very impertinent in one of my level, to point out to thoſe, who ſit at the helm, what courſe they ought to ſteer. I know enough of courts to be ſenſible, how mean an opinion great miniſters have of moſt men's underſtandings; to a degree, that in any other ſcience, would be called the groſſeſt pedantry. However, unleſs I offer my ſentiments in this point, all I have hitherto ſaid, will be to no purpoſe.

The general wiſhes and deſires of a people, are perhaps more obvious to other men, than to miniſters of ſtate. There are two points of the higheſt importance, wherein a very great majority of the kingdom appear perfectly hearty and unanimous. Firſt, that the church of England ſhould be preſerved entire in all her rights, powers and privileges; all doctrines relating to government diſcouraged, which ſhe condemns; all ſchiſms, ſects and hereſies diſcountenanced, and kept under due ſubjection, as far as conſiſts with the lenity of our conſtitution; her open enemies (among whom I include at leaſt diſſenters of all denominations) not truſted with the ſmalleſt degree of civil or military power; and her ſecret adverſaries, under the names of whigs, low-church, republicans, moderation-men and the like, receive no marks of favour from the crown, but what they ſhould deſerve by a ſincere reformation.

Had this point been ſteadily purſued in all its parts, for three years paſt, and aſſerted as the avowed

avowed reſolution of the court, there muſt probably have been an end of faction, which has been able, ever ſince, with ſo much vigour to diſturb and inſult the adminiſtration. I know very well, that ſome refiners pretend to argue for the uſefulneſs of parties in ſuch a government as ours: I have ſaid ſomething of this already, and have heard a great many idle wiſe topicks upon the ſubject. But I ſhall not argue that matter at preſent: I ſuppoſe, if a man think it neceſſary to play with a ſerpent, he will chuſe one of a kind that is leaſt miſchievous; otherwiſe, although it appears to be cruſhed, it may have life enough to ſting him to death. So, I think it is not ſafe tampering with the preſent faction, at leaſt in this juncture: firſt, becauſe their principles and practices have been already very dangerous to the conſtitution in church and ſtate: ſecondly, becauſe they are highly irritated with the loſs of their power, full of venom and vengeance, and prepared to execute every thing that rage or malice can ſuggeſt: but principally, becauſe they have prevailed, by miſrepreſentations, and other artifices, to make the ſucceſſor look upon them as the only perſons he can truſt: upon which account they cannot be too ſoon, or too much diſabled: neither will England ever be ſafe from the attempts of this wicked confederacy, until their ſtrength and intereſt ſhall be ſo far reduced, that for the future it ſhall not be in the power of the crown, although in conjunction with any rich and factious body of men, to chooſe an ill majority in the houſe of commons.

One ſtep very neceſſary to this great work will be, to regulate the army, and chiefly thoſe troops which, in their turns, have the care of her majeſty's perſon; who are moſt of them fitter to guard a prince under a high court of juſtice, than ſeated on the throne. The peculiar hand of providence has hitherto preſerved her majeſty, encompaſſed, whether ſleeping or travelling, by her enemies: but ſince religion teaches us, that providence ought not to be tempted, it is ill-venturing to truſt that precious life any longer to thoſe, who, by their publick behaviour and diſcourſe, diſcover their impatience to ſee it at an end; that they may have liberty to be the inſtruments of glutting at once the revenge of their patrons and their own. It ſhould be well remembered, what a ſatisfaction theſe gentlemen (after the example of their betters) were ſo ſanguine to expreſs upon the queen's laſt illneſs at Windſor, and what threatenings they uſed of refuſing to obey their general, in caſe that illneſs had proved fatal. Nor do I think it a want of charity to ſuſpect, that in ſuch an evil day, an enraged faction would be highly pleaſed with the power of the ſword, and with great connivance leave it ſo long unſheathed, until they were got rid of their moſt formidable adverſaries. In the mean time it muſt be a very melancholy proſpect, that whenever it ſhall pleaſe God to viſit us with this calamity, thoſe who are paid to be defenders of the civil power, will ſtand ready for any acts of violence, that a Junto compoſed of the greateſt enemies to the conſtitution, ſhall think fit to enjoin them.

The

The other point of great importance is, the ſecurity of the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover: not from any partiality to that illuſtrious houſe, farther than as it has had the honour to mingle with the blood royal of England, and is the neareſt branch of our regal line reformed from popery. This point has one advantage over the former, that both parties profeſs to deſire the ſame bleſſing for poſterity, but differ about the means of ſecuring it. Whence it has come to paſs, that the proteſtant ſucceſſion, in appearance the deſire of the whole nation, has proved the greateſt topick of ſlander, jealouſy, ſuſpicion and diſcontent.

I have been ſo curious * to aſk ſeveral acquaintance among the oppoſite party, whether they, or their leaders, did really ſuſpect there had been ever any deſign in the miniſtry to weaken the ſucceſſion in favour of the Pretender, or of any other perſon whatſoever. Some of them freely anſwered in the negative: others were of the ſame opinion, but added, they did not know what might be done in time, and upon farther provocations: others again ſeemed to believe the affirmative, but could never produce any plauſible grounds for their belief. I have likewiſe been aſſured by a perſon of ſome conſequence, that during a very near and conſtant familiarity with the great men at court for four years paſt, he never could obſerve, even in thoſe hours of converſation where there is uſually leaſt reſtraint, that one word ever paſſed among them to ſhew a diſlike to the preſent

* It ſhould be—'ſo curious *as* to aſk.'

ſettlement;

ſettlement; although they would ſometimes lament, that the falſe repreſentations of theirs, and the kingdom's enemies, had made ſome impreſſions in the mind of the ſucceſſor. As to my own circle of acquaintance, I can ſafely affirm, that excepting thoſe who are Nonjurors by profeſſion, I have not met with above two perſons who appeared to have any ſcruples concerning the preſent limitation of the crown. I therefore think it may very impartially be pronounced, that the number of thoſe, who wiſh to ſee the ſon of the abdicated prince upon the throne, is altogether inconſiderable. And farther, I believe it will be found, that there are none who ſo much dread any attempt he ſhall make for the recovery of his imagined rights, as the Roman-Catholicks of England; who love their freedom and properties too well to deſire his entrance by a French army, and a field of blood; who muſt continue upon the ſame foot, if he changes his religion, and muſt expect to be the firſt and greateſt ſufferers, if he ſhould happen to fail.

As to the perſon of this nominal prince, he lies under all manner of diſadvantages: the vulgar imagine him to have been a child impoſed upon the nation by the fraudulent zeal of his parents, and their bigotted counſellors; who took ſpecial care, againſt all the rules of common policy, to educate him in their hateful ſuperſtition, ſucked in with his milk, and confirmed in his manhood, too ſtrongly to be now ſhaken by Mr. Leſley; and a counterfeit converſion will be too groſs to paſs upon the

the kingdom, after what we have ſeen and ſuffered from the like practice in his father. He is likewiſe ſaid to be of weak intellectuals, and an unſound conſtitution: he was treated contemptibly enough by the young princes of France, even during the war; is now wholly neglected by that crown, and driven to live in exile upon a ſmall exhibition: he is utterly unknown in England, which he left in the cradle: his father's friends are moſt of them dead, the reſt antiquated or poor. Six and twenty years have almoſt paſt ſince the Revolution, and the bulk of thoſe who are now moſt in action either at court, in parliament, or publick offices, were then boys at ſchool or the univerſities, and look upon that great change to have happened during a period of time for which they are not accountable. The logick of the higheſt tories is now, that this was the eſtabliſhment they found, as ſoon as they arrived at a capacity of judging; that they had no hand in turning out the late king, and therefore have no crime to anſwer for, if it were any: that the inheritance to the crown is fixed in purſuance of laws made ever ſince their remembrance, by which all papiſts are excluded, and they have no other rule to go by: that they will no more diſpute king William the Third's title, than king William the Firſt's; ſince they muſt have recourſe to hiſtory for both: that they have been inſtructed in the doctrines of paſſive obedience, non-reſiſtance, and hereditary right, and find them all neceſſary for preſerving the preſent eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate, and for continuing the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, and

muſt in their own opinion renounce all thoſe doctrines by ſetting up any other title to the crown. This, I ſay, ſeems to be the political creed of all the high principled men I have for ſome time met with of forty years old and under; which although I do not pretend to juſtify in every part, yet I am ſure it ſets the proteſtant ſucceſſion upon a much firmer foundation, than all the indigeſted ſchemes of thoſe who profeſs to act upon what they call revolution principles.

Neither ſhould it perhaps be ſoon forgotten, that during the greateſt licentiouſneſs of the preſs, while the ſacred character of the queen was every day inſulted in factious papers and ballads, not the leaſt reflecting inſinuation ever appeared againſt the Hanover family, whatever occaſion was offered to intemperate pens, by the raſhneſs or indiſcretion of one or two miniſters from thence.

From all theſe conſiderations I muſt therefore lay it down as an unconteſtable truth, that the ſucceſſion to theſe kingdoms in the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, is as firmly ſecured as the nature of the thing can poſſibly admit; by the oaths of all thoſe who are entruſted with any office, by the very principles of thoſe who are termed the high-church, by the general inclinations of the people, hy the inſignificancy of that perſon who claims it from inheritance, and the little aſſiſtance he can expect either from princes abroad, or adherents at home.

However, ſince the virulent oppoſers of the queen and her adminiſtration, have ſo far prevailed by their emiſſaries at the court of Hanover,

and by their practices upon one or two ignorant, unmannerly meſſengers from thence, as to make the elector deſire ſome farther ſecurity, and ſend over a memorial here to that end: the great queſtion is, how to give reaſonable ſatisfaction to his highneſs, and (what is infinitely of greater conſequence) at the ſame time conſult the honour and ſafety of the queen, whoſe quiet poſſeſſion is of much more conſequence to us of the preſent age, than his reverſion. The ſubſtance of his memorial, if I retain it right, is, to deſire that ſome one of his family might live in England, with ſuch a maintenance as is uſual to thoſe of the royal blood, and that certain titles ſhould be conferred upon the reſt, according to ancient cuſtom. The memorial does not ſpecify which of the family ſhould be invited to reſide here; and if it had, I believe however, her majeſty would have looked upon it as a circumſtance left to her own choice.

But, as all this is moſt manifeſtly unneceſſary in itſelf, and only in compliance with the miſtaken doubts of a preſumptive heir; ſo the nation would (to ſpeak in the language of Mr. Steel) expect, that her majeſty ſhould be made perfectly eaſy from that ſide for the future; no more to be alarmed with apprehenſions of viſits, or demands of writs, where * ſhe has not thought fit to give any invitation. The nation would likewiſe expect, that there ſhould be an end of all private commerce between

* Baron Schutz, envoy extraordinary from the elector of Hanover, demanded a writ for the electoral prince to ſit in the houſe of peers as duke of Cambridge, and it was expected that his highneſs would have made a viſit to the court of London.

that court, and the leaders of a party here; and that his electoral highneſs ſhould declare himſelf entirely ſatisfied with all her majeſty's proceedings, her treaties of peace and commerce, her alliances abroad, her choice of miniſters at home, and particularly in her moſt gracious condeſcenſions to his requeſt: that he would upon all proper occaſions, and in the moſt publick manner, diſcover his utter diſlike of factious perſons and principles, but eſpecially of that party, which, under the pretence or ſhelter of his protection, has ſo long diſquieted the kingdom: and laſtly, that he would acknowledge the goodneſs of the queen, and juſtice of the nation, in ſo fully ſecuring the ſucceſſion to his family.

It is indeed a problem which I could never comprehend, why the court of Hanover, who have all along thought themſelves ſo perfectly ſecure in the affections, the principles, and the profeſſions of the low-church party, ſhould not have endeavoured, according to the uſual politicks of princes, to gain over thoſe who were repreſented as their enemies; ſince theſe ſuppoſed enemies had made ſo many advances, were in poſſeſſion of all the power, had framed the very ſettlement to which that illuſtrious family owes its claim; had all of them abjured the pretender; were now employed in the great offices of ſtate, and compoſed a majority in both houſes of parliament. Not to mention, that the queen herſelf, with the bulk of the landed gentry and commonalty throughout the kingdom, were of the number. This, one would think, might be a ſtrength ſufficient not only to obſtruct, but to beſtow

beſtow a ſucceſſion: and ſince the preſumed heir could not but be perfectly ſecure of the other party, whoſe greateſt avowed grievance was the pretended danger of his future rights; it might therefore ſurely have been worth his while to have made at leaſt one ſtep towards cultivating a fair correſpondence with the power in poſſeſſion. Neither could thoſe, who are called his friends, have blamed him, or with the leaſt decency enter into any engagements for defeating his title.

But why might not the reaſons of this proceeding in the elector, be directly contrary to what is commonly imagined? Methinks I could endeavour to believe, that his highneſs is thoroughly acquainted with both parties; is convinced, that no true member of the church of England can eaſily be ſhaken in his principles of loyalty, or forget the obligation of an oath, by any provocation. That theſe are therefore the people he intends to rely upon, and keeps only fair with the others, from a true notion he has of their doctrines, which prompt them to forget their duty upon every motive of intereſt or ambition. If this conjecture be right, his highneſs cannot ſure but entertain a very high eſteem of ſuch miniſters, who continue to act under the dread and appearance of a ſucceſſor's utmoſt diſpleaſure, and the threats of an enraged faction, whom he is ſuppoſed alone to favour, and to be guided entirely in his judgment of Britiſh affairs, and perſons, by their opinions.

But to return from this digreſſion: the preſence of that infant prince * among us, could not, I think, in any ſort be inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the queen; he would be in no danger of being corrupted in his principles, or expoſed in his perſon by vicious companions; he could be at the head of no factious clubs and cabals, nor be attended by a hired rabble, which his flatterers might repreſent as popularity. He would have none of that impatience which the frailty of human nature gives to expecting heirs. There would be no pretence for men to make their court, by affecting German modes and refinements in dreſs or behaviour: nor would there be any occaſion of inſinuating to him, how much more his levee was frequented, than the anti-chamber of St. James's. Add to all this, the advantages of being educated in our religion, laws, language, manners, nature of government, each ſo very different from thoſe he would leave behind. By which likewiſe he might be highly uſeful to his father, if that prince ſhould happen to ſurvive her majeſty.

The late king William, who after his marriage with the lady Mary of England, could have no probable expectation of the crown, and very little even of being a queen's huſband (the duke of York having a young wife) was no ſtranger to our language or manners, and went often to the chapel of his princeſs; which I obſerve the rather, becauſe I could heartily wiſh the like diſpoſition were in an-

* The infant prince was the ſon of the electoral prince of Hanover, who might be choſen to reſide here in conſequence of the memorial.

other

other court, and becauſe it may be diſagreeable to a prince to take up new doctrines on a ſudden, or ſpeak to his ſubjects by an interpreter.

An ill-natured or inquiſitive man may ſtill, perhaps, deſire to preſs the queſtion farther, by aſking, what is to be done, in caſe it ſhould ſo happen, that this malevolent working party at home, has credit enough with the court of Hanover, to continue the ſuſpicion, jealouſy, and uneaſineſs there, againſt the queen and her miniſtry; to make ſuch demands be ſtill inſiſted on, as are by no means thought proper to be complied with; and in the mean time to ſtand at arm's length with her majeſty, and in cloſe conjunction with thoſe who oppoſe her.

I take the anſwer to be eaſy: in all conteſts, the ſafeſt way is to put thoſe we diſpute with, as much in the wrong as we can. When her majeſty ſhall have offered ſuch, or the like conceſſions, as I have above mentioned, in order to remove thoſe ſcruples artificially raiſed in the mind of the expectant heir, and to divide him from that faction by which he is ſuppoſed to have been miſled; ſhe has done as much as any prince can do, and more than any other would probably do in her caſe; and will be juſtified before God and man, whatever be the event. The equitable part of thoſe, who now ſide againſt the court, will probably be more temperate; and if a due diſpatch be made in placing the civil and military power in the hands of ſuch as wiſh well to the conſtitution, it cannot be any way for the quiet or intereſt of a ſucceſſor to gratify ſo

ſmall a faction, as will probably then remain, at the expence of a much more numerous and conſiderable part of his ſubjects. Neither do I ſee how the principles of ſuch a party, either in religion or government, will prove very agreeable, becauſe I think Luther and Calvin ſeem to have differed as much as any two among the reformers: and becauſe a German prince will probably be ſuſpicious of thoſe, who think they can never depreſs the prerogative enough.

But ſuppoſing, once for all, as far as poſſible, that the elector ſhould utterly refuſe to be upon any terms of confidence with the preſent miniſtry, and all others of their principles, as enemies to him and the ſucceſſion; nor eaſy with the queen herſelf, but upon ſuch conditions as will not be thought conſiſtent with her ſafety and honour; and continue to place all his hopes and truſt in the diſcontented party: I think it were humbly to be wiſhed, that whenever the ſucceſſion ſhall take place, the alterations intended by the new prince, ſhould be made by himſelf, and not by his deputies: becauſe I am of opinion, that the clauſe empowering the ſucceſſor to appoint a latent, unlimited number, additional to the ſeven regents named in the act, went upon a ſuppoſition, that the ſecret committee would be of ſuch, whoſe enmity and contrary principles diſpoſed them to confound the reſt. King William, whoſe title was much more controverted than that of her majeſty's ſucceſſor can ever probably be, did, for ſeveral years, leave the adminiſtration of the kingdom in the hands of lords juſtices,

juſtices, during the height of a war, and while the abdicated prince himſelf was frequently attempting an invaſion: whence one might imagine, that the regents appointed by parliament upon the demiſe of the crown, would be able to keep the peace during an abſence of a few weeks without any colleagues. However, I am pretty confident that the only reaſon, why a power was given of chooſing dormant viceroys, was to take away all pretence of a neceſſity to invite over any of the family here, during her majeſty's life. So that I do not well apprehend what arguments the elector can uſe to inſiſt upon both.

To conclude; the only way of ſecuring the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and conſequently this very proteſtant ſucceſſion itſelf, will be by leſſening the power of our domeſtic adverſaries as much as can poſſibly conſiſt with the lenity of our government; and if this be not ſpeedily done, it will be eaſy to point where the nation is to fix the blame: for we are well aſſured, that ſince the account her majeſty received of the cabals; the triumphs, the inſolent behaviour of the whole faction, during her late illneſs at Windſor, ſhe has been as willing to ſee them deprived of all power to do miſchief, as any of her moſt zealous and loyal ſubjects can deſire.

MEMOIRS,

RELATING TO

That CHANGE which happened in the QUEEN'S MINISTRY in the Year 1710.

HAVING continued for near the ſpace of four years in a good degree of confidence with the miniſtry then in being, although not with ſo much power as was believed, or at leaſt given out by my friends, as well as by my enemies, eſpecially the latter, in both houſes of parliament; and this having happened during a very buſy period of negociations abroad, and management of intrigue at home; I thought it might probably, ſome years hence, when the preſent ſcene ſhall have given place to many new ones that will ariſe, be an entertainment to thoſe who will have any perſonal regard for me or my memory, to ſet down ſome particularities which fell under my knowledge and obſervation, while I was ſuppoſed, whether truly or not, to have part in the ſecret of affairs.

One circumſtance I am a little ſorry for, that I was too negligent (againſt what I had always reſolved, and blamed others for not doing) in taking hints,

hints or journals of every material as it paſſed, whereof I omitted many that I cannot now recollect, although I was convinced, by a thouſand inſtances, of the weakneſs of my memory. But, to ſay the truth, the nearer knowledge any man has in the affairs at court, the leſs he thinks them of conſequence, or worth regarding. And thoſe kind of paſſages which I have with curioſity found or ſearched for in memoirs, I wholly neglected when they were freely communicated to me from the firſt hand, or were ſuch wherein I acted myſelf. This I take to be one among other reaſons, why great miniſters ſeldom give themſelves the trouble of recording the important parts of that adminiſtration, where they themſelves are at the head. They have extinguiſhed all that vanity, which uſually poſſeſſes men, during their firſt acquaintance at courts; and like the maſters of a puppet-ſhew, they deſpiſe thoſe motions which fill common ſpectators with wonder and delight. However, upon frequently recollecting the courſe of affairs during the time I was either truſted or employed; I am deceived, if in hiſtory there can be found any period, more full of paſſages, which the curious of another age, would be glad to know the ſecret ſprings of; or whence more uſeful inſtructions may be gathered, for directing the conduct of thoſe, who ſhall hereafter have the good or ill fortune, to be engaged in buſineſs of the ſtate.

It may probably enough happen, that thoſe who ſhall at any time hereafter peruſe theſe papers, may think it not ſuitable to the nature of them, that upon

upon occaſion I ſometimes make mention of myſelf; who, during theſe tranſactions, and ever ſince, was a perſon without titles or public employment. But, ſince the chief leaders of the faction then out of power, were pleaſed, in both houſes of parliament, to take every opportunity of ſhewing their malice, by mentioning me (and often by name) as one who was in the ſecret of all affairs, and without whoſe advice or privity nothing was done, or employment diſpoſed of, it will not, perhaps, be improper to take notice of ſome paſſages, wherein the publick and myſelf were jointly concerned; not to mention that the chief cauſe of giving myſelf this trouble, is, to ſatisfy my particular friends; and at worſt, if after the fate of manuſcripts, theſe papers ſhall, by accident or indiſcretion, fall into the public view, they will be no more liable to cenſure than other memoirs, publiſhed for many years paſt, in Engliſh, French, and Italian. The period of time I deſign to treat on will commence with September 1710; from which time, till within two months of the queen's death, I was never abſent from court, except about ſix weeks in Ireland.

But, becauſe the great change of employments in her majeſty's family, as well as in the kingdom, was begun ſome months before, and had been thought on from the time of Dr. Sacheverel's trial, while I was abſent, and lived retired in Ireland; I ſhall endeavour to recollect, as well as I am able, ſome particulars I learned from the earl of Oxford, the lord viſcount Bolingbroke, the lady Maſham,

and

and doctor Atterbury, who were beſt able to inform me.

I have often with great earneſtneſs preſſed the earl of Oxford, then lord treaſurer, and my lady Maſham, who were the ſole perſons which brought about that great change, to give me a particular account of every circumſtance and paſſage, during that whole tranſaction. Nor did this requeſt proceed from curioſity, or the ambition of knowing and publiſhing important ſecrets; but from a ſincere honeſt deſign of juſtifying the queen, in the meaſures ſhe then took, and afterwards purſued, againſt a load of ſcandal, which would certainly be thrown on her memory, with ſome appearance of truth. It was eaſy to foreſee, even at that diſtance, that the queen could not live many years; and it was ſufficiently known what party was moſt in the good graces of the ſucceſſor, and conſequently, what turns would be given by hiſtorians, to her majeſty's proceedings, under a reign, where directly contrary meaſures would probably be taken. For inſtance, what would be more eaſy to a malicious pen, than to charge the queen with inconſtancy, weakneſs, and ingratitude, in removing and diſgracing the duke of Marlborough, who had ſo many years commanded her armies with victory and ſucceſs; in diſplacing ſo many great officers of her court and kingdom, by whoſe counſels ſhe had, in all appearance, ſo proſperouſly governed; in extending the marks of her ſeverity and diſpleaſure, towards the wife and daughters, as well as relations and allies, of that perſon, ſhe had ſo long employed, and ſo

highly truſted; and all this, by the private intrigues of a woman of her bedchamber, in concert with an artful man, who might be ſuppoſed to have acted that bold part, only from a motive of revenge upon the loſs of his employments, or of ambition to come again into power?

Theſe were ſome of the arguments I often made uſe of, with great freedom, both to the earl of Oxford, and my lady Maſham, to incite them to furniſh me with materials for a fair account of that great tranſaction; to which they always ſeemed as well diſpoſed as myſelf. My lady Maſham did likewiſe aſſure me, that ſhe had frequently informed the queen of my requeſt; which her majeſty thought very reaſonable, and did appear, upon all occaſions, as deſirous of preſerving reputation with poſterity, as might juſtly become a great prince to be. But that incurable diſeaſe, either of negligence or procraſtination, which influenced every action both of the queen and the earl of Oxford, did, in ſome ſort, infect every one who had credit or buſineſs in the court: for, after ſoliciting near four years, to obtain a point of ſo great importance to the queen and her ſervants, whence I could propoſe nothing but trouble, malice, and envy to myſelf, it was perpetually put off.

The ſcheme I offered was, to write her majeſty's reign; and that this work might not look officious or affected, I was ready to accept the hiſtoriographer's place, although of inconſiderable value, and of which I might be ſure to be deprived upon the queen's death. This negligence in the queen, the

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earl of Oxford, and my lady Maſham, is the cauſe that I can give but an imperfect account of the firſt ſprings of that great change at court, after the trial of Doctor Sacheverel; my memory not ſerving me to retain all the facts related to me: but what I remember I ſhall here ſet down.

There was not, perhaps, in all England, a perſon who underſtood more artificially to diſguiſe her paſſions than the late queen. Upon her firſt coming to the throne, the ducheſs of Marlborough had loſt all favour with her, as her majeſty has often acknowledged to thoſe who have told it me. That lady had long preſerved an aſcendant over her miſtreſs while ſhe was princeſs; which, her majeſty, when ſhe came to the crown, had neither patience to bear, nor ſpirit to ſubdue. This princeſs was ſo exact an obſerver of forms, that ſhe ſeemed to have made it her ſtudy, and would often deſcend ſo low as to obſerve, in her domeſticks of either ſex who came into her preſence, whether a ruffle, a perriwig, or the lining of a coat, were unſuitable at certain times. The ducheſs, on the other ſide, who had been uſed to great familiarities, could not take it into her head that any change of ſtation ſhould put her upon changing her behaviour; the continuance of which was * the more offenſive to her majeſty, whoſe other ſervants, of the greateſt quality, did then treat her with the utmoſt reſpect.

The earl of Godolphin held in favour about three years longer, and then declined, although he

* 'Was *the more* offenſive to her majeſty, whoſe other ſervants, &c.' This is ungrammatical; it ſhould be—'was *the more* offenſive to her majeſty, as her other ſervants, &c.'

kept

kept his office till the general change. I have heard ſeveral reaſons given for her majeſty's early diſguſt againſt that lord. The ducheſs, who had long been his friend, often prevailed on him to ſolicit the queen upon things very unacceptable to her; which her majeſty liked the worſe, as knowing whence they originally came: and his lordſhip, although he endeavoured to be as reſpectful as his nature would permit him, was, upon all occaſions, much too arbitrary and obtruding.

To the duke of Marlborough ſhe was wholly indifferent, (as her nature in general prompted her to be) until his reſtleſs impatient behaviour had turned her againſt him.

The queen had not a ſtock of amity to ſerve above one object at a time; and, farther than a bare good or ill opinion, which ſhe ſoon contracted and changed, and very often upon light grounds, ſhe could hardly be ſaid either to love or to hate any body. She grew ſo jealous upon the change of her ſervants, that often, out of fear of being impoſed upon, by an over-caution ſhe would impoſe upon herſelf: ſhe took a delight in refuſing thoſe who were thought to have greateſt power with her, even in the moſt reaſonable things, and ſuch as were neceſſary for her ſervice; nor would let them be done, till ſhe fell into the humour of it herſelf.

Upon the grounds I have already related, her majeſty had gradually conceived a moſt rooted averſion from the duke and ducheſs of Marlborough, and

the earl of Godolphin; which ſpread, in time, through all their allies and relations, particularly to the earl of Hertford, whoſe ungovernable temper had made him fail in his perſonal reſpects to her majeſty. This I take to have been the principal ground of the queen's reſolutions to make a change of ſome officers both in her family and kingdom; and that theſe reſolutions did not proceed from any real apprehenſion ſhe had of danger to the church or monarchy: for, although ſhe had been ſtrictly educated in the former, and very much approved its doctrine and diſcipline, yet ſhe was not ſo ready to foreſee any attempts againſt it by the party then preſiding. But the fears that moſt influenced her, were ſuch as concerned her own power and prerogative, which thoſe neareſt about her were making daily encroachments * upon, by their undutiful behaviour and unreaſonable demands. The deportment of the ducheſs of Marlborough, while the prince lay expiring, was of ſuch a nature, that the queen, then in the height of grief, was not able to bear it; but, with marks of diſpleaſure in her countenance, ſhe ordered the ducheſs to withdraw, and ſend Mrs. Maſham to her.

I forgot to relate an affair that happened, as I remember, about a twelvemonth before prince

* 'Were making daily encroachments *upon*, &c.' This mode of ſeparating the prepoſition from the word to which it belongs, and placing it at the end of a ſentence, is a bad arrangement, and ſhould be avoided as much as poſſible. How much better would the ſentence run by reſtoring it to its proper place, as thus—*Upon* which thoſe neareſt about her were making daily encroachments, by their undutiful behaviour, &c.

George's

George's death. This prince had long conceived an incurable averſion from that party, and was reſolved to uſe his utmoſt credit with the queen his wife, to get rid of them. There fell out an incident which ſeemed to favour this attempt; for the queen, reſolving to beſtow a regiment upon Mr. Hill, brother to Mrs. Maſham, ſignified her pleaſure to the duke of Marlborough; who, in a manner not very dutiful, refuſed his conſent, and retired in anger to the country. After ſome heats, the regiment was given to a third perſon. But the queen reſented this matter ſo highly, which ſhe thought had been promoted by the earl of Godolphin, that ſhe reſolved immediately to remove the latter. I was told, and it was then generally reported, that Mr. St. John carried a letter from her majeſty to the duke of Marlborough, ſignifying her reſolution to take the ſtaff from the earl of Godolphin, and that ſhe expected his grace's compliance; to which the duke returned a very humble anſwer. I cannot engage for this paſſage, it having never come into my head to aſk Mr. St. John about it: but the account Mr. Harley and he gave me was, That the duke of Marlborough, and the earl of Godolphin, had concerted with them upon a moderating ſcheme, wherein ſome of both parties ſhould be employed, but with a more favourable aſpect towards the church: That a meeting was appointed for compleating this work: That in the mean time, the duke and ducheſs of Marlborough, and the earl of Godolphin, were ſecretly uſing their utmoſt ef-

forts with the queen, to turn Mr. Harley (who was then ſecretary of ſtate) and all his friends, out of their employments: That the queen, on the other ſide, who had a great opinion of Mr. Harley's integrity and abilities, would not conſent; and was determined to remove the earl of Godolphin. This was not above a month before the ſeaſon of the year when the duke of Marlborough was to embark for Flanders; and the very night in which Mr. Harley and his friends had appointed to meet his grace and the carl of Godolphin, George Churchill the duke's brother, who was in good credit with the prince, told his highneſs, "That the "duke was firmly determined to lay down his "command, if the earl of Godolphin went out, or "Mr. Harley and his friends ſuffered to continue "in." The prince, thus intimidated by Churchill, reported the matter to the queen; and the time and ſervice preſſing, her majeſty was unwillingly forced to yield. The two great lords failed the appointment; and the next morning, the duke, at his levee, ſaid aloud in a careleſs manner, to thoſe who ſtood round him, "That Mr. Harley was turned out."

Upon the prince's death, November 1708, the two great lords ſo often mentioned, who had been for ſome years united with the low-church party, and had long engaged to take them into power, were now in a capacity to make good their promiſes, which his highneſs had ever moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed. The lord Sommers was made preſident of the council, the earl of Wharton lieutenant of Ireland,

land, and ſome others of the ſame ſtamp were put into conſiderable poſts.

It ſhould ſeem to me, that the duke and earl were not very willingly drawn to impart ſo much power to thoſe of that party, who expected theſe removals for ſome years before, and were always put off upon pretence of the prince's unwillingneſs to have them employed. And I remember, ſome months before his highneſs's death, my lord Sommers, who is a perſon of reſerve enough, complained to me, with great freedom, of the ingratitude of the duke and earl, who, after the ſervice he and his friends had done them in making the Union, would hardly treat them with common civility. Neither ſhall I ever forget, that he readily owned to me, that the Union was of no other ſervice to the nation, than by giving a remedy to that evil which my lord Godolphin had brought upon us, by perſuading the queen to paſs the *Scotch act of ſecurity*. But to return from this digreſſion.

Upon the admiſſion of theſe men into employments, the court ſoon ran into extremity of low-church meaſures; and although, in the houſe of commons, Mr. Harley, Sir Simon Harcourt, Mr. St. John, and ſome others, made great and bold ſtands in defence of the conſtitution, yet they were always borne down by a majority.

It was, I think, during this period of time, that the duke of Marlborough, whether by a motive of ambition, or a love of money, or by the raſh counſels of his wife the ducheſs, made that bold at-

tempt, of deſiring the queen to give him a commiſſion to be general for life. Her majeſty's anſwer was, "That ſhe would take time to conſider "it;" and in the mean while, the duke adviſed with the lord Cowper, then chancellor, about the form in which the commiſſion ſhould be drawn. The chancellor, very much to his honour, endeavoured to diſſuade the duke from engaging in ſo dangerous an affair, and proteſted, "he would never put the "great ſeal to ſuch a commiſſion." But the queen was highly alarmed at this extraordinary proceeding in the duke; and talked to a perſon whom ſhe had then taken into confidence, as if ſhe apprehended an attempt upon the crown. The duke of Argyle, and one or two more lords, were (as I have been told) in a very private manner brought to the queen. This duke was under great obligations to the duke of Marlborough, who had placed him in a high ſtation in the army, preferred many of his friends, and procured him the garter. But his unquiet and ambitious ſpirit, never eaſy while there was any one above him, made him, upon ſome trifling reſentments, conceive an inveterate hatred againſt his general. When he was conſulted what courſe ſhould be taken upon the duke of Marlborough's requeſt to be general for life, and whether any danger might be apprehended from the refuſal; I was told, he ſuddenly anſwered, "That "her majeſty need not be in pain; for he would "undertake, whenever ſhe commanded, to ſeize "the duke at the head of his troops, and bring "him away either dead or alive."

About this time happened the famous trial of Dr. Sacheverel, which aroſe from a fooliſh paſſionate pique of the earl of Godolphin, whom this divine was ſuppoſed, in a ſermon, to have reflected on under the name of Volpone, as my lord Sommers, a few months after, confeſſed to me; and at the ſame time, that he had earneſtly and in vain endeavoured to diſſuade the earl from that attempt. However, the impeachment went on, in the form and manner which every body knows; and therefore there need not be any thing ſaid of it here.

Mr. Harley, who came up to town during the time of the impeachment, was, by the intervention of Mrs. Maſham, privately brought to the queen; and in ſome meetings, eaſily convinced her majeſty of the diſpoſitions of her people, as they appeared in the courſe of that trial, in favour of the church, and againſt the meaſures of thoſe in her ſervice. It was not without a good deal of difficulty, that Mr. Harley was able to procure this private acceſs to the queen; the ducheſs of Marlborough, by her emiſſaries, watching all the avenues to the back-ſtairs, and upon all occaſions diſcovering their jealouſy of him; whereof he told me a paſſage, no otherwiſe worth relating, than as it gives an idea of an inſolent, jealous miniſter, who would wholly engroſs the power and favour of his ſovereign. Mr. Harley, upon his removal from the ſecretary's office, by the intrigues of the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin, as I have above related, going out of town, was met by the latter of theſe

two lords near Kenſington-gate. The earl, in a high fit of jealouſy, goes immediately to the queen, reproaches her for privately ſeeing Mr. Harley, and was hardly ſo civil as to be convinced, by her majeſty's frequent proteſtations to the contrary.

Theſe ſuſpicions, I ſay, made it hard for her majeſty and Mr. Harley to have private interviews; neither had he made uſe of the opportunities he met with to open himſelf ſo much to her, as ſhe ſeemed to expect, and deſired; although Mrs. Maſham, in right of her ſtation in the bed-chamber, had taken all proper occaſions of purſuing what Mr. Harley had begun. In this critical juncture, the queen, hemmed in, and as it were impriſoned, by the ducheſs of Marlborough and her creatures, was at a loſs how to proceed. One evening a letter was brought to Mr. Harley, all dirty, and by the hand of a very ordinary meſſenger. He read the ſuperſcription, and ſaw it was the queen's writing. He ſent for the meſſenger, who ſaid, "he knew not whence the letter came, but that it "was delivered him by an under-gardener," I forget whether of Hampton-Court or Kenſington. The letter mentioned the difficulties her majeſty was under; blaming him for "not ſpeaking with "more freedom and more particularly; and de-"ſiring his aſſiſtance." With this encouragement, he went more frequently, although ſtill as * private as poſſible, to the back-ſtairs; and from that time began to have entire credit with the queen. He then

* As *private* as poſſible, &c. It ſhould be as *privately* as poſſible.

told her of the dangers to her crown, as well as to the church and monarchy itſelf, from the counſels and actions of ſome of her ſervants:" That ſhe ought "gradually to leſſen the exorbitant power of the "duke and ducheſs of Marlborough, and the earl "of Godolphin, by taking the diſpoſition of em-"ployments * into her own hands: That it did not "become her to be a ſlave to a party, but to re-"ward thoſe who may deſerve by their duty and "loyalty, whether they were ſuch as were called "of the high-church or low-church." In ſhort, whatever views he had then in his own breaſt, or how far ſoever he intended to proceed, the turn of his whole diſcourſe was intended, in appearance, only to put the queen upon what they called a moderating ſcheme; which, however, made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon her, that when this miniſter led by the neceſſity of affairs, the general diſpoſition of the people, and probably by his own inclinations, put her majeſty upon going greater lengths than ſhe had firſt intended, it put him upon innumerable difficulties, and ſome inſuperable; as we ſhall ſee in the progreſs of this change.

Her majeſty, purſuant to Mr. Harley's advice, reſolved to diſpoſe of the firſt great employment that fell, according to her own pleaſure, without conſulting any of her miniſters. To put this in execution, an opportunity ſoon happened, by the

* The *diſpoſition* of employments, &c. This word is not uſed in that ſenſe; it ought to be, the *diſpoſal* of employments.

death

death of the earl of Eſſex, whereby the lieutenancy of the Tower became vacant. It was agreed between the queen and Mr. Harley, that the earl Rivers ſhould go immediately to the duke of Marlborough, and deſire his grace's good offices with the queen, to procure him that poſt. The earl went accordingly; was received with abundance of profeſſions of kindneſs by the duke, who ſaid, "The lieutenancy of the Tower was not worth his "lordſhip's acceptance;" and deſired him to think of ſomething elſe. The earl ſtill inſiſted, and the duke ſtill continued to put him off; at length, lord Rivers deſired his grace's conſent to let him go himſelf and beg this favour of the queen; and hoped he might tell her majeſty, "his grace had "no objection to him." All this the duke readily agreed to, as a matter of no conſequence. The earl went to the queen, who immediately gave orders for his commiſſion. He had not long left the queen's preſence, when the duke of Marlborough, ſuſpecting nothing that would happen, went to the queen, and told her, "The lieutenancy of the "Tower falling void by the death of the earl of "Eſſex, he hoped her majeſty would beſtow it "upon the duke of Northumberland, and give the "Oxford regiment, then commanded by that duke, "to the earl of Hertford." The queen ſaid, "He "was come too late; that ſhe had already granted "the lieutenancy to earl Rivers, who had told her, "that he [the duke] had no objection to him." The duke, much ſurprized at this new manner of treatment,

treatment, and making complaints in her majeſty's preſence, was however forced to ſubmit.

The queen went on by ſlow degrees. Not to mention ſome changes of leſſer moment, the duke of Kent was forced to compound for his chamberlain's ſtaff, which was given to the duke of Shrewſbury, while the earl of Godolphin was out of town, I think at Newmarket. His lordſhip, on the firſt news, came immediately up to court; but the thing was done, and he made as good a countenance to the duke of Shrewſbury as he was capable of. The circumſtances of the earl of Sunderland's removal, and the reaſons alledged, are known enough. His ungovernable temper had overſwayed him to fail in his reſpects to her majeſty's perſon.

Meantime both parties ſtood at gaze, not knowing to what theſe ſteps would lead, or where they would end. The earl of Wharton, then in Ireland, being deceived by various intelligence from hence, endeavoured to hide his uneaſineſs as well as he could. Some of his ſanguine correſpondents had ſent him word, that the queen began to ſtop her hand, and the church party to deſpond. At the ſame time, the duke of Shrewſbury happened to ſend him a letter filled with great expreſſions of civility. The earl was ſo weak, upon reading it, as to cry out, before two or three ſtanders-by, "Damn him, "he is making fair weather with me; but, by "G—d, I will have his head." But theſe ſhort hopes were ſoon blaſted, by taking the treaſurer's ſtaff from the earl of Godolphin; which was done in a manner not very gracious, her majeſty ſending

ing him a letter, by a very ordinary meſſenger, commanding him to break it. The treaſury was immediately put into commiſſion, with earl Powlet at the head; but Mr. Harley, who was one of the number, and at the ſame time made chancellor of the exchequer, was already ſuppoſed to preſide behind the curtain.

Upon the fall of that great miniſter and favourite, that whole party became diſpirited, and ſeemed to expect the worſt that could follow. The earl of Wharton immediately deſired and obtained leave to come for England; leaving that kingdom, where he had behaved himſelf with the utmoſt profligateneſs, injuſtice, arbitrary proceedings, and corruption, with the hatred and deteſtation of all good men, even of his own party.

And here, becauſe my coming into the knowledge of the new miniſtry began about this time, I muſt digreſs a little, to relate ſome circumſtances previous to it.

Although I had been for many years before no ſtranger at court, and had made the nature of government a great part of my ſtudy, yet I had dealt very little with politicks, either in writing or acting, until about a year before the late king William's death; when, returning with the earl of Berkeley from Ireland, and falling upon the ſubject of the five great lords who were then impeached, for high crimes and miſdemeanors, by the houſe of commons, I happened to ſay, "That the ſame "manner of proceeding, at leaſt as it appeared to "me from the news we received of it in Ireland,

"had

" had ruined the liberties of Athens and Rome;
" and that it might be eaſy to prove it from hiſ-
" tory." Soon after I went to London; and, in a few weeks, drew up a diſcourſe, under the title of, *The Conteſts and Diſſentions of the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome, with the Conſequences they had upon both thoſe States.* This diſcourſe I ſent very privately to the preſs, with the ſtricteſt injunctions to conceal the author, and returned immediately to my reſidence in Ireland. The book was greedily bought, and read; and charged ſome time upon my lord Sommers, and ſome time upon the biſhop of Saliſbury; the latter of whom told me afterwards, " that he was forced to diſown it in
" a very public manner, for fear of an impeach-
" ment, wherewith he was threatened."

Returning next year for England, and hearing of the great approbation this piece had received, (which was the firſt I ever printed) I muſt confeſs, the vanity of a young man prevailed with me, to let myſelf be known for the author: upon which, my lord Sommers and Halifax, as well as the biſhop abovementioned, deſired my acquaintance, with great marks of eſteem and profeſſions of kindneſs—not to mention the earl of Sunderland, who had been my old acquaintance. They lamented that they were not able to ſerve me ſince the death of the king; and were very liberal in promiſing me the greateſt preferments I could hope for, if ever it came in their power. I ſoon grew domeſtic with lord Halifax, and was as often with lord Sommers,

as

as the formality of his nature (the only unconverſable fault he had) made it agreeable to me.

It was then I began to trouble myſelf with the difference between the principles of Whig and Tory; having formerly employed myſelf in other, and I think, much better ſpeculations. I talked often upon this ſubject with lord Sommers; told him, "That, having been long converſant with "the Greek and Roman authors, and therefore a "lover of liberty, I found myſelf much inclined to "be what they call a Whig in politicks; and that, "beſides, I thought it impoſſible, upon any other "principle, to defend, or ſubmit to, the Revolu-"tion: but, as to religion, I confeſſed myſelf to "be a high-churchman, and that I did not con-"ceive, how any one who wore the habit of a "clergyman, could be otherwiſe: That I had ob-"ſerved very well with what inſolence and haugh-"tineſs, ſome lords of the high-church party treat-"ed not only their own chaplains, but all other "clergymen whatſoever, and thought this was ſuf-"ficiently recompenſed by their profeſſions of zeal "to the church: That I had likewiſe obſerved how "the Whig lords took a direct contrary meaſure, "treated the perſons of particular clergymen with "great courteſy, but ſhewed much ill-will and "contempt for the order in general: That I knew "it was neceſſary for their party, to make their "bottom as wide as they could, by taking all de-"nominations of Proteſtants to be members of "their body: That I would not enter into the

"mutual

" mutual reproaches made by the violent men on " either ſide; but that the connivance, or encou- " ragement, given by the Whigs to thoſe writers " of pamphlets, who reflected upon the whole body " of the clergy without any exception, would " unite the church, as one man, to oppoſe them: " And that, I doubted, his lordſhip's friends did " not conſider the conſequence of this."

My lord Sommers, in appearance, entered very warmly into the ſame opinion, and ſaid very much of the endeavours he had often uſed to redreſs that evil I complained of. This his lordſhip, as well as my lord Halifax, (to whom I have talked in the ſame manner) can very well remember: and I have indeed been told by an honourable gentleman of the ſame party, " That both their lordſhips, about " the time of lord Godolphin's removal, did, upon " occaſion, call to mind what I had ſaid to them " five years before."

In my journeys to England, I continued upon the ſame foot of acquaintance with the two lords laſt mentioned, until the time of prince George's death; when the queen, who, as is before related, had for ſome years favoured that party, now made lord Sommers preſident of the council, and the earl of Wharton lieutenant of Ireland. Being then in London, I received letters from ſome biſhops of Ireland, to ſolicit the earl of Wharton about the remittal of the firſt-fruits and tenths to the clergy there, which the queen had long promiſed, and wherein I had been employed before, with ſome hopes of ſucceſs from the earl of Godolphin. It

was

was the firſt time I ever was in company with the earl of Wharton: he received me with ſufficient coldneſs, and anſwered the requeſt I made in behalf of the clergy, with very poor and lame excuſes, which amounted to a refuſal. I complained of this uſage to lord Sommers, who would needs bring us together to his houſe, and preſent me to him; where he received me as drily as before.

It was every body's opinion, that the earl of Wharton would endeavour, when he went to Ireland, to take off the teſt, as a ſtep to have it taken off here: upon which, I drew up and printed a pamphlet, by way of a letter from a member of parliament here, ſhewing the danger to the church by ſuch an intent. Although I took all care to be private, yet the lieutenant's chaplain, and ſome others, gueſſed me to be the author, and told his excellency their ſuſpicions; whereupon I ſaw him no more until I went to Ireland. At my taking leave of lord Sommers, he deſired I would carry a letter from him to the earl of Wharton, which I abſolutely refuſed; yet he ordered it to be left at my lodgings. I ſtaid ſome months in Leiceſterſhire, went to Ireland; and immediately upon my landing, retired to my country-pariſh, without ſeeing the lieutenant, or any other perſon; reſolving to ſend him lord Sommers's letter by the poſt. But, being called up to town, by the inceſſant intreaties of my friends, I went and delivered my letter, and immediately withdrew. During the greateſt part of his government, I lived in the country, ſaw the lieutenant very ſeldom when I came to town, nor

ever

ever entered into the leaſt degree of confidence with him, or his friends, except his ſecretary Mr. Addiſon, who had been my old and intimate acquaintance. Upon the news of great changes here, he affected very much to careſs me; which I underſtood well enough to have been an old practice with him, in order to render men odious to the church-party.

I mention theſe inſignificant particulars, as it will be eaſily judged, for ſome reaſons that are purely perſonal to myſelf, it having been objected by ſeveral of thoſe poor pamphleteers, who have blotted ſo much paper to ſhew their malice againſt me, that I was a favourer of the low-party: whereas it has been manifeſt to all men, that, during the higheſt dominion of that faction, I had publiſhed ſeveral tracts in oppoſition to the meaſures then taken; for inſtance, *A project for the reformation of Manners, in a letter to the Counteſs of Berkeley; The Sentiments of a Church-of-England-man*; *An Argument againſt aboliſhing Chriſtianity*; and laſtly, *A letter to a Member of Parliament againſt taking off the Teſt in Ireland*, which I have already mentioned to have been publiſhed at the time the earl of Wharton was ſetting out to his government of that kingdom. But thoſe who are loud and violent in coffee-houſes, although generally they do a cauſe more hurt than good, yet will ſeldom allow any other merit; and it is not to ſuch as theſe that I attempt to vindicate myſelf.

About the end of Auguſt 1710, I went for England, at the deſire, and by the appointment, of the

archbiſhops and biſhops of that kingdom; under whoſe hands I had a commiſſion to ſolicit, in conjunction with two biſhops who were then in London, the firſt-fruits and twentieths to the clergy, which had been many years ſolicited in vain. Upon my arrival in town, I found the two biſhops were gone into the country; whereupon I got myſelf introduced to Mr. Harley, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, and acted as firſt miniſter. He received me with great kindneſs; told me, "that he and his friends had long expected my ar-"rival;" and, upon ſhewing my commiſſion, immediately undertook to perform it; which he accordingly did in leſs than three weeks, having ſettled it at five meetings with the queen, according to a ſcheme I offered him, and got me the queen's promiſe for a farther and more important favour to the clergy of Ireland; which the biſhops there, deceived by miſinformation, not worth mentioning in this paper, prevented me from bringing to a good iſſue.

When the affair of the firſt-fruits was fully diſpatched, I returned my humble thanks to Mr. Harley, in the name of the clergy of Ireland, and in my own; and offered to take my leave, as intending immediately to return to that kingdom. Mr. Harley told me, "He and his friends knew "very well what uſeful things I had written "againſt the principles of the late diſcarded faction; "and that my perſonal eſteem for ſeveral among "them, would not make me a favourer of their "cauſe: That there was now entirely a new ſcene:

"That

"That the queen was reſolved to employ none but "thoſe who were friends to the conſtitution of "church and ſtate: That their great difficulty lay "in the want of ſome good pen, to keep up the "ſpirit raiſed in the people, to aſſert the principles, "and juſtify the proceedings of the new miniſters." Upon that ſubject he fell into ſome perſonal civilities, which will not become me to repeat. He added, "That this province was in the hands of "ſeveral perſons, among whom ſome were too "buſy, and others too idle to purſue it;" and concluded, "That it ſhould be his particular care, "to eſtabliſh me here in England, and repreſent "me to the queen as a perſon they could not be "without."

I promiſed to do my endeavours in that way for ſome few months. To which he replied, "He "expected no more; and that he had other and "greater occaſions for me."

Upon the riſe of this miniſtry, the principal perſons in power, thought it neceſſary that ſome weekly paper ſhould be publiſhed, with juſt reflexions upon former proceedings, and defending the preſent meaſures of her majeſty. This was begun about the time of the lord Godolphin's removal, under the name of the Examiner. About a dozen of theſe papers, written with much ſpirit and ſharpneſs, ſome by Mr. ſecretary St. John, ſince lord Bolingbroke; others by Dr. Atterbury, ſince biſhop of Rocheſter; and others again by Mr. Prior, Dr. Freind, &c. were publiſhed with

great applauſe. But, theſe gentlemen being grown weary of the work, or otherwiſe employed, the determination was, that I ſhould continue it; which I did accordingly about eight months. But, my ſtyle being ſoon diſcovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall into other hands, who held it up in ſome manner until her majeſty's death.

It was Mr. Harley's cuſtom, every Saturday, that four or five of his moſt intimate friends, among thoſe he had taken in upon the great change made at court, ſhould dine at his houſe; and after about two months acquaintance, I had the honour always to be one of the number. This company, at firſt, conſiſted only of the lord keeper Harcourt, the earl Rivers, the earl of Peterborough, Mr. ſecretary St. John, and myſelf: and here, after dinner, they uſed to diſcourſe, and ſettle matters of great importance. Several other lords were afterwards, by degrees, admitted; as, the dukes of Ormond, Shrewſbury, and Argyle; the earls of A—y, Dartmouth, and P—t; the lord B—y, &c. Theſe meetings were always continued, except when the queen was at Windſor; but, as they grew more numerous, became of leſs conſequence, and ended only in drinking and general converſation; of which I may, perhaps, have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

My early appearance at theſe meetings, which many thought to be of greater conſequence than really they were, could not be concealed, although

I uſed

I uſed all my endeavours to that purpoſe. This gave the occaſion to ſome great men, who thought me already in the ſecret, to complain to me of the ſuſpicions entertained by many of our friends in relation to Mr. Harley, even before he was lord treaſurer; ſo early were ſown thoſe ſeeds of diſcontent, which afterwards grew up ſo high! The cauſe of their complaint was, That ſo great a number of the adverſe party continued in employment; and ſome, particularly the duke of Somerſet and earl of Cholmondeley, in great ſtations at court. They could not believe Mr. Harley was in earneſt; but that he deſigned to conſtitute a motley comprehenſive adminiſtration, which, they ſaid, the kingdom would never endure. I was once invited to a meeting of ſome lords and gentlemen, where theſe grievances were at large related to me, with an earneſt deſire that I would repreſent them in the moſt reſpectful manner to Mr. Harley, upon a ſuppoſition that I was in high credit with him. I excuſed myſelf from ſuch an office, upon the newneſs of my acquaintance with Mr. Harley. However, I repreſented the matter fairly to him; againſt which he argued a good deal, from the general reaſons of politicians; the neceſſity of keeping men in hopes, the danger of diſobliging thoſe who muſt remain unprovided for, and the like uſual topics among ſtateſmen. But there was a ſecret in this matter, which neither I, nor indeed any of his moſt intimate friends were then appriſed of; neither did he, at that time, enter with me farther than to aſſure me very ſolemnly, "That no perſon ſhould have

" the ſmalleſt employment, either civil or military,
" whoſe principles were not firm for the church
" and monarchy."

However, theſe over-moderate proceedings in the court, gave riſe to a party in the houſe of commons, which appeared under the name of the October-club; a fantaſtic appellation, found out to diſtinguiſh a number of country gentlemen and their adherents, who profeſſed, in the greateſt degree, what was called the high-church principle. They grew in number to almoſt a third part of the houſe, held their meetings at certain times and places, and there concerted what meaſures they were to take in parliament. They profeſſed their jealouſy of the court and miniſtry; declared, upon all occaſions, their deſire of a more general change, as well as of a ſtrict enquiry into former miſmanagement; and ſeemed to expect that thoſe in power ſhould openly avow the old principles in church and ſtate. I was then of opinion, and ſtill continue ſo, that if this body of men could have remained ſome time united, they would have put the crown under a neceſſity of acting in a more ſteady and ſtrenuous manner. But Mr. Harley, who beſt knew the diſpoſition of the queen, was forced to break their meaſures; which he did by that very obvious contrivance, of dividing them among themſelves, and rendering them jealous of each other. The miniſters gave every where out, that the October-club were their friends, and acted by their directions; to confirm which, Mr. ſecretary St. John and Mr. B——, afterwards chancellor of

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the exchequer, publicly dined with them at one of their meetings. Thus were eluded all the conſequences of that aſſembly; although a remnant of them, who conceived themſelves betrayed by the reſt, did afterwards meet under the denomination of the March-club, but without any effect.

The parliament, which then roſe, had been choſen without any endeavours from the court, to ſecure elections; neither, as I remember, were any of the lieutenancies changed throughout the kingdom: for the trial of Dr. Sacheverel had raiſed, or diſcovered, ſuch a ſpirit in all parts, that the miniſters could very ſafely leave the electors to themſelves, and thereby gain a reputation of acting by a free parliament. Yet this proceeding was, by ſome refiners of both parties, numbered among the ſtrains of Mr. Harley's politicks, who was ſaid to avoid an over-great majority, which is apt to be unruly, and not enough under the management of a miniſtry. But, from the ſmall experience I have of courts, I have ever found refinements to be the worſt ſort of all conjectures; and, from this one occaſion, I take leave to obſerve, That of ſome hundreds of facts, for the real truth of which I can account, I never yet knew any refiner to be once in the right. I have already told, that the true reaſon, why the court did not interpoſe in the matter of elections, was, becauſe they thought themſelves ſure of a majority, and therefore could acquire reputation at a cheap rate. Beſides, it afterwards appeared, upon ſome exigencies which the court had much at heart, that they were more

than once likely to fail for want of numbers. Mr. Harley, in order to give credit to his adminiſtration, reſolved upon two very important points: firſt, to ſecure the unprovided debts of the nation; and ſecondly, to put an end to the war. Of the methods he took to compaſs both thoſe ends, I have treated at large in another work *: I ſhall only obſerve, that while he was preparing to open to the houſe of commons his ſcheme for ſecuring the public debts, he was ſtabbed by the marquis de Guiſcard, while he was ſitting in the council-chamber at the Cock-pit, with a committee of nine or ten lords of the cabinet, met on purpoſe to examine the marquis, upon a diſcovery of a treaſonable correſpondence he held with France.

This fact was ſo uncommon in the manner and circumſtances of it, that although it be pretty well known at the time I am now writing, by a printed account, toward which I furniſhed the author with ſome materials, yet I thought it would not be proper wholly to omit it here. The aſſaſſin was ſeized, by Mr. Harley's order, upon the eighth of March, 1710-11; and brought before the committee of lords, was examined about his correſponding with France. Upon his denial, Mr. Harley produced a letter, which he could not deny to be his own hand. The marquis, prepared for miſchief, had conveyed a pen-knife into his pocket, while the meſſenger kept him attending in one of the offices below. Upon the ſurprize of his letter appearing

* See Hiſtory of the Four laſt Years, &c.

againſt

againſt him, he came ſuddenly behind Mr. Harley, and reaching his arm round, ſtabbed that miniſter into the middle of the breaſt, about a quarter of an inch above the *cartilago enſiformis*; the pen-knife, ſtriking upon the bone, and otherwiſe obſtructed by a thick embroidered waiſtcoat, broke ſhort at the handle; which Guiſcard ſtill graſped, and redoubled his blow. The confuſion upon this accident is * eaſier conceived than deſcribed. The reſult was, that the marquis, whether by the wounds given him by ſome of the lords, or the bruiſes he received from the meſſengers while they were ſeizing him, or the neglect of his ſurgeon, or that being unwilling to live, he induſtriouſly concealed one of his wounds, died in a few days after. But Mr. Harley, after a long illneſs, and frequent ill ſymptoms, had the good fortune to recover.

Guiſcard was the younger brother of the count of that name, a very honourable and worthy perſon, formerly governor of Namur. But this marquis was a reproach to his family, proſtitute in his morals, impious in religion, and a traitor to his prince: as to the reſt, of a very poor underſtanding, and the moſt tedious, trifling talker, I ever converſed with. He was grown needy by ſquandering upon his vices, was become contemptible both here and in Holland, his regiment taken from him, and his penſion retrenched; the deſpair of which, firſt put him upon his French correſpondence; and the diſcovery of that, drove him into

* Is *eaſier* conceived, &c. This uſe of the adjective inſtead of the adverb, is not allowable, it ſhould be—is *more eaſily* conceived, &c.

madneſs.

madneſs. I had known him ſome years; and meeting him upon the Mall a few hours before his examination, I obſerved to a friend then with me, "that I wondered to ſee Guiſcard paſs ſo often by, "without taking notice of me." But although in the latter part of his life his countenance grew cloudy enough; yet, I confeſs, I never ſuſpected him to be a man of reſolution or courage ſufficient, to bear him out in ſo deſperate an attempt.

I have ſome very good reaſons to know, that the firſt miſunderſtanding between Mr. Harley and Mr. St. John, which afterwards had ſuch unhappy conſequences upon the public affairs, took its riſe during the time that the former lay ill of his wounds, and his recovery doubtful. Mr. St. John affected to ſay in ſeveral companies, "that Guiſcard in-"tended the blow againſt him;" which if it were true, the conſequence muſt be, that Mr. St. John had all the merit, while Mr. Harley remained with nothing but the danger and the pain. But, I am apt to think, Mr. St. John was either miſtaken, or miſinformed. However, the matter was thus repreſented in the weekly paper called the Examiner; which Mr. St. John peruſed before it was printed, but made no alteration in that paſſage.

This management was looked upon, at leaſt, as a piece of youthful indiſcretion in Mr. St. John; and perhaps, was repreſented in a worſe view to Mr. Harley. Neither am I altogether ſure, that Mr. St. John did not entertain ſome proſpect of ſucceeding as firſt miniſter, in caſe of Mr. Harley's death; which, during his illneſs, was frequently

appre-

apprehended. And I remember very well, that upon viſiting Mr. Harley, as ſoon as he was in a condition to be ſeen, I found ſeveral of his neareſt relations talk very freely of ſome proceedings of Mr. St. John; enough to make me apprehend that their friendſhip would not be of any long continuance.

Mr. Harley, ſoon after his recovery, was made an earl, and lord treaſurer; and lord keeper, a baron.

AN

INQUIRY

INTO THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE

QUEEN's LAST MINISTRY,

With relation to their QUARRELS among themſelves, and the Deſign charged upon them of altering the SUCCESSION of the CROWN.

[Written in June, 1715.]

SINCE the death of the queen, it was reaſonable enough for me to conclude that I had done with all public affairs and ſpeculations: beſides, the ſcene and ſtation I am in, have reduced my thoughts into a narrow compaſs: and being wholly excluded from any view of favour under the preſent adminiſtration, upon that invincible reaſon of having been in ſome degree of truſt and confidence with the former, I have not found the tranſition very difficult into a private life, for which I am better qualified, both by nature and education.

The reading of, and enquiring after news, not being one of my diverſions, having always diſliked a mixed and general converſation, which, however it fell to my lot, is now in my power to avoid; and

and being placed, by the duties of my function, at a great diſtance from the ſeat of buſineſs, I am altogether ignorant of many common events which happen in the world: only, from the little I know and hear, it is manifeſt that the hearts of moſt men are filled with doubts, fears, and jealouſies, or elſe with hatred and rage, to a degree that there ſeems to be an end of all amicable commerce between people of different parties; and what the conſequences of this may be, let thoſe conſider who have contributed to the cauſes; which, I thank God, is no concern of mine.

There are two points, with reference to the conduct of the late miniſtry, much inſiſted on, and little underſtood by thoſe who write or talk upon that ſubject; wherein I am ſufficiently qualified to give ſatisfaction; and would gladly do it, becauſe I ſee very much weight laid upon each, and moſt mens opinions of perſons and things, regulated accordingly.

About two months before the queen's death, having loſt all hopes of any reconcilement between the treaſurer and the reſt of the miniſtry, I retired into the country, to await the iſſue of that conflict, which ended, as every one had reaſon to foreſee, in the earl of Oxford's diſgrace; to whom the lord Bolingbroke immediately ſucceeded as firſt miniſter: and I was told, that an earldom and the garter were intended for him in a fortnight, and the treaſurer's ſtaff againſt the next ſeſſion of parliament; of which I can ſay nothing certain, being then in Berkſhire, and receiving this account from

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ſome of his friends. But all theſe ſchemes became ſoon abortive, by the death of the queen, which happened in three days after the earl of Oxford's removal.

Upon this great event, I took the firſt opportunity of withdrawing to my place of reſidence; and rejoiced as much as any man for his majeſty's quiet acceſſion to the throne, to which I then thought, and it has ſince appeared indiſputable, that the peace procured by the late miniſtry had, among other good effects, been highly inſtrumental. And I thank God, I have been ever ſince a loyal humble ſpectator, during all the changes that have happened, although it were no ſecret to any man of common ſagacity, that his preſent majeſty's choice of his ſervants, whenever he ſhould happen to ſucceed, would be determined to thoſe, who moſt oppoſed the proceedings during the four laſt laſt years of his predeceſſor's reign: and I think, there has not ſince happened one particular of any moment, which the miniſters did not often mention at their tables, as what they certainly expected, from the diſpoſition of the court at Hanover, in conjunction with the party at home; which, upon all occaſions, publickly diſapproved their proceedings, excepting only the attainder of the duke of Ormond; which, indeed, neither they nor I, nor, I believe, any one perſon in the three kingdoms, did ever pretend to foreſee; and now it is done, it looks like a dream, to thoſe who conſider the nobleneſs of his birth, the great merits of his anceſtors, and his own; his long unſpotted loy-

alty, his affability, generoſity, and ſweetneſs of nature. I knew him long and well; and excepting the frailties of his youth, which had been for ſome years over, and that eaſineſs of temper, which did ſometimes lead him to follow the judgment of thoſe, who had, by many degrees, leſs underſtanding than himſelf, I have not converſed with a more faultleſs perſon; of great juſtice and charity; a true ſenſe of religion, without oſtentation; of undoubted valour, thoroughly ſkilled in his trade of a ſoldier; a quick and ready apprehenſion, with a good ſhare of underſtanding, and a general knowledge in men and hiſtory; although under ſome diſadvantage by an invincible modeſty, which, however, could not but render him yet more amiable to thoſe, who had the honour and happineſs of being thoroughly acquainted with him. This is a ſhort imperfect character of that great perſon the duke of Ormond, who is now attainted for high treaſon; and therefore, I ſhall not preſume to offer one ſyllable in his vindication, upon that head, againſt the deciſion of a parliament. Yet this, I think, may be allowed me to believe, or at leaſt to hope, that when, by the direct and repeated commands of the queen his miſtreſs, he committed thoſe faults, for which he has now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune, he no more conceived himſelf to be acting high-treaſon, than he did when he was wounded and a priſoner at Landen, for his ſovereign king William, or when he took and burned the enemy's fleet at Vigo.

Upon

Upon this occaſion, although I am ſenſible it is an old precept of wiſdom to admire at nothing in human life; yet I conſider, at the ſame time, how eaſily ſome men arrive at the practice of this maxim, by the help of plain ſtupidity or ill-nature, without any ſtrain of philoſophy: and although the uncertainty of human things, be one of the moſt obvious reflections in morality; yet ſuch unexpected, ſudden, and ſignal inſtances of it, as have lately happened among us, are ſo much out of the uſual form, that a wiſe man may perhaps be allowed to ſtart and look aſide, as at a ſudden and violent clap of thunder, which is much more frequent, and more natural.

And here I cannot but lament my own particular misfortune; who, having ſingled out three perſons from among the reſt of mankind, on whoſe friendſhip and protection I might depend, whoſe converſation I moſt valued, and chiefly confined myſelf to, ſhould live to ſee them all, within the compaſs of a year, accuſed of high treaſon; two of them attainted and in exile, and the third under his trial, whereof God knows what may be the iſſue. As my own heart was free from all treaſonable thoughts, ſo I did little imagine myſelf to be perpetually in the company of traitors. But the faſhion of this world paſſeth away. Having already ſaid ſomething of the duke of Ormond, I ſhall add a little towards the characters of the other two. It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world with ſo many advantages of nature and fortune, as the late ſecre-

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tary Bolingbroke: deſcended from the beſt families in England, heir to a great patrimonial eſtate, of a ſound conſtitution, and a moſt graceful, amiable perſon: but all theſe, had they been of equal value, were infinitely inferiour in degree to the accompliſhments of his mind, which was adorned with the choiceſt gifts that God has yet thought fit to beſtow upon the children of men; a ſtrong memory, a clear judgment, a vaſt range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehenſion, an invincible eloquence, with a moſt agreeable elocution. He had well cultivated all theſe talents by travel and ſtudy; the latter of which, he ſeldom omitted even in the midſt of his pleaſures, of which he had indeed been too great and criminal a purſuer: for, although he was perſuaded to leave off intemperance in wine, which he did, for ſome time, to ſuch a degree, that he ſeemed rather abſtemious; yet he was ſaid to allow himſelf other liberties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals; whereof, I have reaſon to believe, he began to be ſenſible. But he was fond of mixing pleaſure and buſineſs, and of being eſteemed excellent at both; upon which account, he had a great reſpect for the characters of Alcibiades and Petronius, eſpecially the latter, whom he would be gladly thought to reſemble. His detractors charged him with ſome degree of affectation, and, perhaps, not altogether without grounds; ſince it was hardly poſſible for a young man, with half the buſineſs of the nation upon him, and the applauſe of the whole, to eſcape ſome tincture of that infirmity.

He had been early bred to buſineſs, was a moſt artful negociator, and perfectly underſtood foreign affairs. But what I have often wondered at, in a man of his temper, was, his prodigious application whenever he thought it neceſſary; for he would plod whole days and nights, like the loweſt clerk in an office. His talent of ſpeaking in public, for which he was ſo very much celebrated, I know nothing of, except from the informations of others; but underſtanding men of both parties have aſſured me, that, in this point, in their memory and judgment, he was never equaled.

The earl of Oxford, is a perſon of as much virtue, as can poſſibly conſiſt with the love of power: and his love of power, is no greater, than what is common to men of his ſuperior capacities; neither did any man ever appear to value it leſs after he had obtained it, or exert it with more moderation. He is the only inſtance that ever fell within my memory or obſervation, of a perſon paſſing from a private life, through the ſeveral ſtages of greatneſs, without any perceivable impreſſion upon his temper or behaviour. As his own birth was illuſtrious, being deſcended from the heirs-general of the Veres and the Mortimers, ſo he ſeemed to value that accidental advantage in himſelf and others, more than it could pretend to deſerve. He abounded in good-nature and good-humour; although ſubject to paſſion, as I have heard it affirmed by others, and owned by himſelf; which, however, he kept under the ſtricteſt government, till towards the end of his miniſtry, when he began

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to grow ſoured, and to ſuſpect his friends; and, perhaps, thought it not worth his pains to manage any longer. He was a great favourer of men of wit and learning, particularly the former; whom he careſſed without diſtinction of party, and could not endure to think that any of them ſhould be his enemies; and it was his good fortune that none of them ever appeared to be ſo; at leaſt if one may judge by the libels and pamphlets publiſhed againſt him, which he frequently read, by way of amuſement, with a moſt unaffected indifference: neither do I remember ever to have endangered his good opinion ſo much, as by appearing uneaſy, when the dealers in that kind of writing, firſt began to pour out their ſcurrilities againſt me; which, he thought, was a weakneſs altogether inexcuſable in a man of virtue and liberal education. He had the greateſt variety of knowledge that I have any where met with; was a perfect maſter of the learned languages, and well-ſkilled in divinity. He had a prodigious memory, and a moſt exact judgment. In drawing up any ſtate-paper, no man had more proper thoughts, or put them in ſo ſtrong and clear a light. Although his ſtyle were not always correct, which, however, he knew how to mend; yet often, to ſave time, he would leave the ſmaller alterations to others. I have heard that he ſpoke but ſeldom in parliament, and then rather with art than eloquence: but no man equalled him in the knowledge of our conſtitution; the reputation whereof made him be choſen ſpeaker to three ſucceſſive parliaments; which office, I

have often heard his enemies allow him to have executed with univerſal applauſe: his ſagacity was ſuch, that I could produce very amazing inſtances of it, if they were not unſeaſonable. In all difficulties, he immediately found the true point that was to be purſued, and adhered to it: and one or two others in the miniſtry, have confeſſed very often to me, that after having condemned his opinion, they found him in the right, and themſelves in the wrong. He was utterly a ſtranger to fear; and conſequently had a preſence of mind upon all emergencies. His liberality and contempt of money were ſuch, that he almoſt ruined his eſtate while he was in employment; yet his avarice for the publick was ſo great, that it neither conſiſted with the preſent corruptions of the age, nor the circumſtances of the time. He was ſeldom miſtaken in his judgment of men, and therefore not apt to change a good or ill opinion, by the repreſentation of others; except toward the end of his miniſtry. He was affable and courteous, extremely eaſy and agreeable in converſation, and altogether diſengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety; nor ever guilty of any expreſſions that could poſſibly tend to what was indecent or profane. His imperfections were at leaſt as obvious, although not ſo numerous, as his virtues. He had an air of ſecrecy in his manner and countenance, by no means proper for a great miniſter, becauſe it warns all men to prepare againſt it. He often gave no anſwer at all, and very ſeldom a direct one: and I rather blame this reſervedneſs of temper,

becauſe

becauſe I have known a very different practice ſucceed much better: of which, among others, the late earl of Sunderland, and the preſent lord Sommers, perſons of great abilities, are remarkable inſtances; who uſed to talk in ſo frank a manner, that they ſeemed to diſcover the bottom of their hearts, and, by that appearance of confidence, would eaſily unlock the breaſts of others. But the earl of Oxford pleads, in excuſe of this charge, that he has ſeldom or never communicated any thing which was of importance to be concealed, wherein he has not been deceived by the vanity, treachery, or indiſcretion of thoſe he diſcovered it to. Another of his imperfections, univerſally known and complained of, was procraſtination, or delay; which was, doubtleſs, natural to him, although he often bore the blame without the guilt, and when the remedy was not in his power; for never were prince and miniſter better matched, than his ſovereign and he, upon that article: and therefore, in the diſpoſal of employments, wherein the queen was very abſolute, a year would often paſs before they could come to a determination. I remember he was likewiſe heavily charged with the common court vice, of promiſing very liberally, and ſeldom performing; of which, although I cannot altogether acquit him, yet, I am confident, his intentions were generally better, than his diſappointed ſolicitors would believe. It may be likewiſe ſaid of him, that he certainly did not value, or did not underſtand, the art of acquiring friends; having made very few during the time of

his power, and contracted a great number of enemies. Some of us uſed to obſerve, that thoſe whom he talked well of, or ſuffered to be often near him, were not in a ſituation of much advantage; and that his mentioning others with contempt, or diſlike, was no hindrance at all to their preferment. I have dwelt the longer upon this great man's character, becauſe I have obſerved it ſo often miſtaken by the wiſe reaſoners of both parties: beſides, having had the honour, for almoſt four years, of a nearer acquaintance with him than uſually happens to men of my level, and this without the leaſt mercenary obligation, I thought it lay in my power, as I am ſure it is in my will, to repreſent him to the world with impartiality and truth.

Having often conſidered the qualities and diſpoſitions of theſe two miniſters, I am at a loſs to think how it ſhould come to paſs, that men of exalted abilities, when they are called to public affairs, are generally drawn into inconveniencies and misfortunes, which others, of ordinary talents, avoid; whereof there appear ſo many examples both antient and modern, and of our own, as well as other countries. I cannot think this to have been altogether the effect of envy, as it is uſually imputed in the caſes of Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, Scipio, and others; and of Sir Walter Raleigh, the earls of Clarendon and Stafford, here in England. But I look upon it, that God, intending the government of a nation in the ſeveral branches and ſubordi-

nations

nations of power, has made the ſcience of governing ſufficiently obvious to common capacities; otherwiſe the world would be left in a deſolate condition, if great affairs did always require a great genius, whereof the moſt fruitful age will hardly produce above three or four in a nation; among which, princes, who, of all other mortals, are the worſt educated, have twenty millions to one againſt them that they ſhall not be of the number; and proportionable odds, for the ſame reaſons, are againſt every one of noble birth, or great eſtates.

Accordingly we find, that the dulleſt nations, ancient and modern, have not wanted good rules of policy, or perſons qualified for adminiſtration. But I take the infelicity of ſuch extraordinary men, to have been cauſed by their neglect of common forms, together with the contempt of little helps and little hindrances; which is made, by Hobbes, the definition of magnanimity: and this contempt, as it certainly diſpleaſes the people in general, ſo it gives offence to all with whom ſuch miniſters have to deal; for I never yet knew a miniſter, who was not earneſtly deſirous to have it thought, that the art of government was a moſt profound ſcience; whereas, it requires no more, in reality, than diligence, honeſty, and a moderate ſhare of plain natural ſenſe. And therefore men thus qualified, may very reaſonably and juſtly think, that the buſineſs of the world is beſt brought about by regularity and forms, wherein themſelves excel. For I have frequently obſerved more cauſes of diſcon-

tent ariſe *, from the practice of ſome refined miniſters, to act in common buſineſs out of the common road, than from all the uſual topicks of diſpleaſure againſt men in power. It is the ſame thing in other ſcenes of life, and among all ſocieties or communities; where no men are better truſted, or have more ſucceſs in buſineſs, than thoſe, who, with ſome honeſty, and a moderate portion of underſtanding, are ſtrict obſervers of time, place, and method: and on the contrary, nothing is more apt to expoſe men to the cenſure and obloquy of their colleagues and the publick, than a contempt or neglect of theſe circumſtances, however attended with a ſuperior genius, and an equal deſire of doing good; which has made me ſometimes ſay, to a great perſon of this latter character, that a ſmall infuſion of the alderman, was neceſſary to thoſe who are employed in public affairs. Upon this occaſion, I cannot forget a very trifling inſtance: that one day, obſerving the ſame perſon to divide a ſheet of paper with a penknife, the ſharpneſs of the inſtrument occaſioned its moving ſo irregularly and crooked, that he ſpoiled the whole ſheet; whereupon I adviſed him to take example by his clerks, who performed that operation much better with a blunt piece of ivory, which, directed by a little ſtrength and a ſteady hand, never failed to go right.

But to return from this long digreſſion; about a fortnight after the queen's death, I came to my

* From the practice of ſome refined miniſters, to act, &c. From the practice *to act*—is not Engliſh; it ſhould be—from the practice *of acting*, &c.

place

place of reſidence, where I was immediately attacked with heat enough by ſeveral of my acquaintance of both parties; and ſoon learned, that what they objected was the general ſenſe of the reſt. Thoſe of the church-ſide made me a thouſand reproaches upon the ſlowneſs and inactivity of my friends, upon their fooliſh quarrels with each other for no viſible cauſe, and thereby ſacrificing the intereſts of the church and kingdom to their private piques; and that they had neglected to cultivate the favour and good opinion of the court at Hanover. But the weight of theſe gentlemens diſpleaſure fell upon the earl of Oxford: "That he had acted a trim-"ming part; was never thoroughly in the intereſt "of the church, but held ſeparate commerce with "the adverſe party: that either from his negli-"gence, procraſtinating nature, or ſome ſiniſter "end, he had let ſlip many opportunities of ſtrength-"ening the church's friends: that he undertook "more buſineſs than he was equal to, affected a "monopoly of power, and would concert nothing "with the reſt of the miniſters." Many facts were likewiſe mentioned, which it may not now be very prudent to repeat: I ſhall only take notice of one, relating to Ireland, where he kept four biſhoprics undiſpoſed of, though often and moſt earneſtly preſſed to have them filled; by which omiſſion, the church-intereſt of that kingdom in the houſe of lords, is in danger of being irrecoverably loſt.

Thoſe who diſcourſed with me after this manner, did, at the ſame time, utterly renounce all regard for the Pretender; and mentioned with pleaſure the

the glorious opportunity then in his majeſty's hands, of putting an end to party-diſtinctions for the time to come: and the only apprehenſion that ſeemed to give them any uneaſineſs, was, leſt the zeal of the party in power might not, perhaps, repreſent their loyalty with advantage.

On the other ſide, the gainers, and men in hopes by the queen's death, talked with great freedom in a very different ſtyle: they all directly aſſerted, "That the whole late miniſtry were fully deter-"mined to bring in the Pretender," although they would ſometimes a little demur upon the earl of Oxford; and by a more modern amendment, they charged the ſame accuſation, without any reſerve, upon the late queen herſelf. "That, if her ma-"jeſty had died but a month later, our ruin would "have been inevitable." But in that juncture it happened (to uſe their own term, which I could never prevail with them to explain) things were not ripe. "That this accuſation would, in a ſhort "time, infallibly be proved as clear as the ſun at "noon-day to all the world." And the conſe-quences naturally following from theſe poſitions were, "That the leaders ought to loſe their heads, "and all their abettors be utterly ſtript of power "and favour."

Theſe being the ſentiments and diſcourſes of both parties, tending to load the late miniſtry with faults of a very different nature; it may, perhaps, be either of ſome uſe or ſatisfaction to examine thoſe two points; that is to ſay, firſt, how far theſe miniſters are anſwerable to their friends, for

their

their neglect, miſmanagement, and mutual diſſenſions; and ſecondly, with what juſtice they are accuſed, by their enemies, for endeavouring to alter the ſucceſſion of the crown in favour of the Pretender.

It is true, indeed, I have occaſionally done this already in two ſeveral treatiſes, of which the one is a Hiſtory *, and the other, Memoirs † of particular facts, but neither of them fit to ſee the light, at preſent; becauſe they abound with characters freely drawn, and many of them not very amiable; and therefore, intended only for the inſtructing of the next age, and eſtabliſhing the reputation of thoſe who have been uſeful to their country in the preſent. At the ſame time, I take this opportunity of aſſuring thoſe who may happen ſome years hence to read the Hiſtory I have written, that the blackeſt characters to be met with in it, were not drawn with the leaſt mixture of malice or ill-will, but merely to expoſe the odiouſneſs of vice: for I have always held it as a maxim, that ill men are placed beyond the reach of an hiſtorian, who indeed has it in his power to reward virtue, but not to puniſh vice; becauſe I never yet ſaw a profligate perſon, who ſeemed to have the leaſt regard in what manner his name ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity: and I knew a certain lord ‡, not long ſince dead, who, I am very confident, would not have diſpoſed of one ſingle ſhilling to have

* Of the Four laſt Years of Queen Anne.
† Relating to the Change in the Queen's Miniſtry in 1710.
‡ Earl of Wharton.

had

had it in his choice, whether he ſhould be repreſented to future ages, as an Atticus, or a Catiline.

However, being firmly reſolved, for very material reaſons, to avoid giving the leaſt offence to any party or perſon in power; I ſhall barely ſet down ſome facts and circumſtances, during the four laſt years of queen Anne's reign, which at preſent are little known; and whereby thoſe of the church-party, who object againſt the unſteadineſs, neglect, and want of concert, in the late miniſtry, may better account for their faults. Moſt of thoſe facts I can bear witneſs of myſelf, and have received the reſt from ſufficient authority.

It is moſt certain, that when the queen firſt began to change her ſervants, it was not from a diſlike of things, but of perſons, and thoſe perſons were a very ſmall number. To be more particular, would be, *incedere per ignes*. It was the iſſue of Dr. Sacheverel's trial that encouraged her to proceed ſo far; and ſeveral of the low-church party, knowing that her diſpleaſure went no farther than againſt one ſingle family, did not appear to diſlike what was done; of which I could give ſome extraordinary inſtances. But that famous trial had raiſed ſuch a ſpirit in the nation againſt the parliament, that her majeſty thought it neceſſary to diſſolve them, which, I am confident, ſhe did not at firſt intend. Upon this reſolution, delivered by the queen in council, in a more determinate manner than was uſual with her, as I was particularly informed by my lord Sommers then preſident, ſome,

who were willing to ſacrifice one or two perſons, would not ſacrifice their cauſe; but immediately flew off; and the great officers of the court and kingdom began to reſign their employments, which the queen ſuffered moſt of them to do with the utmoſt regret, and which thoſe, who knew her beſt, thought to be real, eſpecially lord Sommers and lord Cowper, for whom ſhe had as great a perſonal regard and eſteem, as her nature was capable of admitting, particularly for the former. The new parliament was called during that ferment in the nation, and a great majority of the church-party was returned, without the leaſt aſſiſtance from the court; whether to gain a reputation of impartiality, where they were ſecure; or, as Mr. Harley's detractors would have it, (who was then miniſter) from a refinement of his politicks, not to ſuffer, upon the account of I know not what wiſe reaſons, too great an inequality in the balance.

When the parliament met, they ſoon began to diſcover more zeal than the queen expected or deſired. She had entertained the notion of forming a moderate or comprehenſive ſcheme, which ſhe maintained with great firmneſs, nor would ever depart from until half a year before her death: but this, neither the houſe of commons, nor the kingdom in general, were then at all inclined to admit, whatever they may have been, in any juncture ſince: ſeveral country-members, to almoſt a third part of the houſe, began immediately to form themſelves into a body, under a fantaſtic name of the October-club. Theſe, daily preſſed the miniſtry

ſtry for a thorough change in employments, and were not put off without jealouſy and diſcontent. I remember it was then commonly underſtood and expected, that when the ſeſſion ended, a general removal would be made: but it happened otherwiſe; for not only few or none were turned out, but much deliberation was uſed in ſupplying common vacancies by death. This manner of proceeding in a prime miniſter, I confeſs, appeared to me wholly unaccountable, and without example; and I was little ſatisfied with the ſolution I had heard, and partly knew, "That he acted thus "to keep men at his devotion, by letting ex- "pectation lie in common;" for I found the effect did not anſwer, and that in the mean time, he led ſo uneaſy a life, by ſolicitations and purſuits, as no man would endure who had a remedy at hand. About the beginning of his miniſtry, I did, at the requeſt of ſeveral conſiderable perſons, take the liberty of repreſenting this matter to him. His anſwer was ſhort and cold: "That he hoped his "friends would truſt him; that he heartily wiſhed "none but thoſe who loved the church and queen "were employed; but that all things could not be "done on a ſudden." I have reaſon to believe, that his neareſt acquaintance were then wholly at a loſs what to think of his conduct. He was forced to preſerve the opinion of power, without which he could not act, while in reality he had little or none; and beſides, he thought it became him to take the burden of reproach upon himſelf, rather than lay it upon the queen his miſtreſs, who

was

was grown very positive, slow, and suspicious; and from the opinion of having been formerly too much directed, fell into the other extreme, and became difficult to be advised. So that few ministers had ever, perhaps, a harder game to play, between the jealousy and discontents of his friends on one side, and the management of the queen's temper on the other.

There could hardly be a firmer friendship, in appearance, than what I observed between those three great men, who were then chiefly trusted; I mean the lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt. I remember, in the infancy of their power, being at the table of the first, where they were all met, I could not forbear taking notice of the great affection they bore to each other; and said, "I would ven-"ture to prophesy, that however inconstant our "court had hitherto been, their ministry would "certainly last; for they had the church, the "crown, and the people, entirely on their side: "then it happened, that the public good, and their "private interest, had the same bottom, which is "a piece of good fortune that does not always fall "to the share of men in power. But, principally, "because I observed they heartily loved one an-"other; and I did not see how their kindness could "be disturbed by competition, since each of them "seemed contented with his own district; so that, "notwithstanding the old maxim, which pronoun-"ces court friendships to be of no long duration, "I was confident theirs would last as long as their "lives." But, it seems, the inventor of that maxim happened to be a little wiser than I, who

lived

lived to ſee this friendſhip firſt degenerate into indifference and ſuſpicion, and thence corrupt into the greateſt animoſity and hatred; contrary to all appearances, and much to the diſcredit of me and my ſagacity. By what degrees, and from what cauſes, their diſſenſions grew, I ſhall, as far as it may be ſafe and convenient, very impartially relate.

When Mr. Harley was ſtabbed by Guiſcard, the writer of a weekly paper, called the Examiner, taking occaſion to reflect on that accident, happened to let fall an idle circumſtance, I know not upon what grounds, "That the French aſſaſſin "confeſſed, he at firſt intended to have murdered "Mr. ſecretary St. John; who ſitting at too great "a diſtance, he was forced to vent his rage on "the other." Whether the ſecretary had been thus informed, or was content that others ſhould believe it, I never yet could learn: but nothing could be more unfortunate than the tendency of ſuch a report, which, by a very unfair deciſion, derived the whole merit of that accident to Mr. St. John, and left Mr. Harley nothing but the danger and the pain: of both which although he had a ſufficient ſhare, (his phyſicians being often under apprehenſions for his life) yet I am confident the time of his illneſs was a period of more quiet and eaſe, than he ever enjoyed during the reſt of his adminiſtration. This report was not unreſented by Mr. Harley's friends; and the rather, becauſe the fact was directly otherwiſe, as it ſoon appeared by Guiſcard's confeſſion.

While

While that miniſter lay ill of his wound, and his life in queſtion, the weight of buſineſs fell, in ſome meaſure, upon the ſecretary, who was not without ambition; which, I confeſs, I have ſeldom found among the wants of great men; and it was conceived that he had already entertained the thoughts of being at the head of affairs, in caſe Mr. Harley ſhould die; although, at the ſame time, I muſt do juſtice to Mr. St. John, by repeating what he ſaid to me, with great appearance of concern, (and he was but an ill diſſembler) "That "if Mr. Harley's accident ſhould prove fatal, it "would be an irreparable loſs: That as things then "ſtood, his life was abſolutely neceſſary: That as "to himſelf, he was not maſter of the ſcheme by "which they were to proceed, nor had credit "enough with the queen; neither did he ſee "how it would be poſſible for them, in ſuch a caſe, "to wade through the difficulties they were then "under." However, not to be over-particular in ſo nice a point, thus much is certain, that ſome things happened during Mr. Harley's confinement, which bred a coldneſs and jealouſy between thoſe two great men; and theſe, increaſing by many ſubſequent accidents, could never be removed.

Upon Mr. Harley's recovery, which was ſoon followed by his promotion to an earldom, and the treaſurer's ſtaff, he was earneſtly preſſed to go on with the change of employments, for which his friends and the kingdom were very impatient; wherein, I am confident, he was not unwilling to comply, if a new incident had not put farther dif-

ficulties in his way. The queen having thought fit to take the key from the ducheſs of Marlborough, it was, after ſome time, given to another great lady *, wholly in the intereſt of the oppoſite party; who, by a moſt obſequious behaviour, of which ſhe is a perfect miſtreſs, and the privileges of her place, which gave her continual acceſs, quickly won ſo far upon the affections of her majeſty, that ſhe had more perſonal credit than all the queen's ſervants put together. Of this lady's character and ſtory having ſpoken ſo much in other papers, which may one day ſee the light, I ſhall only obſerve, that as ſoon as ſhe was fixed in her ſtation, the queen, following the courſe of her own nature, grew daily much more difficult and uncomplying. Some weak endeavours were indeed uſed to divert her majeſty from this choice: but ſhe continued ſteady, and pleaded, "That, if ſhe might not have "liberty to chooſe her own ſervants, ſhe could not "ſee what advantage ſhe had gotten by the change "of her miniſtry:" And ſo little was her heart ſet upon what they call a High-church or Tory adminiſtration, that ſeveral employments in court and country, and a great majority in all commiſſions, remained in the hands of thoſe who moſt oppoſed the preſent proceedings; nor do I remember that any removal of conſequence was made till the winter following, when the earl of Nottingham was pleaſed to prepare and offer a vote in the houſe

* The ducheſs of Marlborough was groom of the ſtole, had the robes and the privy purſe. The ducheſs of Somerſet ſucceeded to the two firſt of theſe employments, and Mrs. Maſham to the laſt.

of

of lords, againſt any peace while Spain continued in the hands of the Bourbon family. Of this vote the miniſters had early notice; and by caſting up the numbers, concluded they ſhould have a majority of ten to overthrow it. The queen was deſired, and promiſed, to ſpeak to a certain lord, who was looked upon as dubious. That lord attended accordingly; but heard not a word of the matter from her majeſty, although ſhe afterwards owned it was not for want of remembering, but from perfect indifference. The treaſurer, who truſted to promiſes, and reckoned that others would truſt to his, was, by a moſt unſeaſonable piece of parſimony, groſsly deceived; and the vote carried againſt the court. The queen had the curioſity to be preſent at the debate; and appeared ſo little diſpleaſed at the event, or againſt thoſe from whom ſhe might have expected more compliance, that a perſon in high ſtation among her domeſtics, who, that day, in her preſence, had ſhewn his utmoſt eloquence (ſuch as it was) againſt the miniſters, received a particular mark * of diſtinction and favour, which, by his poſt, he could not pretend to; and was not removed from her ſervice but with exceeding difficulty many months after. And it is certain that this vote could not have been carried, if ſome perſons very near her majeſty, had not given aſſurances, where they were proper, that it would be acceptable to the queen; which her behaviour ſeemed to confirm.

* The duke of Somerſet had the honour to lead out the queen.

But, when the conſequences of this vote were calmly repreſented to her: "That the limitation "ſpecified therein had wholly tied up her hands, "in caſe the recovery of Spain ſhould be found "impoſſible, as it was frequently allowed and "owned by many principal leaders of the oppoſite "party, and had hitherto been vainly endeavoured "either by treaty or war: That the kingdom was "not in a condition to bear any longer its burden "and charge, eſpecially with annual additions: "That other expedients might poſſibly be found, "for preventing France and Spain from being "united under the ſame king, according to the "intent and letter of the grand alliance: That the "deſign of this vote was, to put her majeſty under "the neceſſity of diſſolving the parliament, begin-"ning all things anew, and placing the adminiſtra-"tion in the hands of thoſe whom ſhe had thought "fit to lay aſide; and this, by ſacrificing her pre-"ſent ſervants, to the rage and vengeance of the "former;" with many other obvious conſiderations, not very proper at this time to be repeated: Her majeſty, who was earneſtly bent upon giving peace to her people, conſented to fall upon the ſole expe-dient that her own coldneſs, or the treaſurer's thrift, and want or contempt of artifice, had left her; which was, to create a number of peers, ſuf-ficient to turn the balance in the houſe of lords. I confeſs, that in my Hiſtory of thoſe times, where this matter, among others, is treated with a great deal more liberty, and conſequently very unfit for preſent peruſal, I have refined ſo far as to conjec-

ture,

ture, that if this were the treaſurer's counſel, he might poſſibly have given it upon ſome farther views, than that of avoiding the conſequences of my lord Nottingham's vote. And what thoſe were, I ſuppoſe, I may offer without offence. It is known enough, that from the time of the Revolution, to the period I am now ſpeaking of, the favour of the court was almoſt perpetually turned towards thoſe, who, in the party term, are called Whigs, or the Low-church; and this was a ſpace of above twenty years, wherein great additions were made to the peerage; and the biſhops bench almoſt wholly renewed. But, the majority of landed men, ſtill retaining the old church-principles in religion and government, notwithſtanding all endeavours to convert them, the late king was under many inſuperable difficulties during the courſe of his reign; elections ſeldom ſucceeding ſo well as to leave the court-ſide without ſtrenuous oppoſition, ſufficient to carry many points againſt him, which he had much at heart. Upon the late queen's ſucceeding to the crown, the church-party, who ſeemed to have grown more numerous under all diſcouragements, began to conceive hopes that her majeſty, who had always profeſſed to favour their principles, would make uſe of their ſervice. And indeed upon that foot things ſtood for ſome time: but, a new war being reſolved on, three perſons, who had moſt credit with her majeſty, and who were then looked upon to be at leaſt as high-principled as could poſſibly conſiſt with the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, having conſulted their friends, began to

conceive that the military ſpirit was much more vigorous in the other party, who appeared more keen againſt France, more ſanguine upon the power and wealth of England, and better verſed in the arts of finding out funds, to which they had been ſo long uſed. There were ſome other motives for this tranſition of the miniſters at that time, which are more proper for the Hiſtory above-mentioned, where they are faithfully recorded. But thus the queen was brought to govern by what they call a Low-church miniſtry, which continued for ſeveral years: till, at length, grown weary of the war, although carried on with great glory and ſucceſs, and the nation riſing into a flame (whether juſtly or not) upon the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, which, in effect, was a general muſter of both parties; her majeſty, following her own inclinations and thoſe of her people, reſolved to make ſome changes in the miniſtry, and take Mr. Harley into her councils. This was brought about, as the charge againſt that miniſter ſays, by the baſeſt inſinuations; upon which, being a determination of parliament, I ſhall not diſpute: although I confeſs to have received a very different account of that matter from a moſt excellent lady *, upon whoſe veracity I entirely depend; and who, being then in chief confidence with her miſtreſs, muſt needs know a particular fact, wherein ſhe was immediately concerned and truſted, better than any one man, or number of men, except the majority of a houſe of commons.

* Mrs. Maſham,

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When the new parliament met, whoſe elections were left entirely to the people, without the leaſt influence from the court, it plainly appeared how far the church-party in the nation out-numbered the other, and eſpecially in the ſeveral counties. But, in the houſe of lords, even after ſome management, there was but a weak and crazy majority: nor even could this have been expected, if ſeveral great lords, who were always reputed of the other party, had not only complied, but been highly inſtrumental in the change; as the dukes of Shrewſbury and Argyle, the earls of Peterborough, Rivers, and ſome others, who certainly came into the queen's meaſures upon other motives than that of party. Now, ſince the government of England cannot go on while the two houſes of parliament are in oppoſition to each other; and that the people, whenever they acted freely, would infallibly return a majority of church-men; one of theſe two things was of neceſſity to be done: either, firſt, to diſſolve that parliament, and call another of the Whig ſtamp, by force of a prodigious expence, which would be neither decent nor ſafe, and, perhaps, at that time, hardly feaſible: or elſe, to turn the balance in the houſe of lords; which, after the ſucceſs of lord Nottingham's vote, was not otherwiſe to be done, than by creating a ſufficient number of peers, in order at once to make the queen and her people eaſy upon that article, for the reſt of her reign. And this I ſhould be willing to think was the treaſurer's meaning, when he adviſed thoſe

advancements; which, however, I confeſs, I did very much diſlike.

But if, after all I have ſaid, my conjecture ſhould happen to be wrong, yet I do not ſee how the treaſurer can juſtly be blamed, for preſerving his cauſe, his friends, and himſelf, from unavoidable ruin, by an expedient allowed on all hands to be lawful. Perhaps, he was brought under that neceſſity by the want of proper management: but, when that neceſſity appeared, he could not act otherwiſe, without unraveling whatever had been done; which, in the language of thoſe times, would have been called delivering the queen and kingdom back into the hands of a faction, they had ſo lately got rid of. And I believe, no miniſter of any party would, in his circumſtances, have ſcrupled to make the ſame ſtep, when the *ſumma rerum* was at ſtake.

Although the queen was brought into this meaſure by no other motive than her earneſt deſire of a peace, yet the treaſurer's friends began to preſs him anew for farther changes in employments; concluding, from what was paſt, that his credit was great enough to compaſs whatever he pleaſed. But this proved to be ill reaſoning; for the queen had no diſlike at all to the other party (whatever perſonal piques ſhe might bear to ſome among them) farther than as ſhe conceived they were bent upon continuing the war; to which her majeſty reſolved to put as ſpeedy an end, as ſhe could with honour and ſafety to her kingdoms, and therefore fell, with readineſs enough, into the methods propoſed to her for

for advancing that great work. But, in diſpenſing her favours, ſhe was extremely cautious and ſlow; and after the uſual miſtake of thoſe who think they have been often impoſed on, became ſo very ſuſpicious, that ſhe overſhot the mark, and erred in the other extreme. When a perſon happened to be recommended as uſeful for her ſervice, or proper to be obliged, perhaps, after a long delay, ſhe would conſent; but, if the treaſurer offered, at the ſame time, a warrant or other inſtrument to her, already prepared in order to be ſigned, becauſe he preſumed to reckon upon her conſent beforehand, ſhe would not; and thus the affair would ſometimes lie for ſeveral months together, although the thing were ever ſo reaſonable, or even although the publick ſuffered by the delay. So that this miniſter had no other remedy but to let her majeſty take her own time, which never failed to be the very longeſt that the nature of the thing could ſuffer her to defer it.

When this promotion was made, Mr. ſecretary St. John, whoſe merits and pretenſions, as things then ſtood, were far ſuperior to any, was purpoſely left out, becauſe the court had need of his great abilities, the following ſeſſion, in the houſe of commons; and the peace being then upon the anvil, he was beſt able to explain and juſtify the ſeveral ſteps towards it; which he accordingly did, with invincible reaſon and univerſal applauſe. When the ſeſſion was over, the queen thought fit to give him a title; and that he might not loſe his rank, created him viſcount. There had been an earldom

earldom in his name and family lately extinct, though a barony fell to a collateral branch in the perſon of an infant; and the ſecretary, being of the ſame houſe, expected and deſired the ſame degree. For he reaſoned, "that, making him a viſ-"count, would be but rigorous juſtice; and he "hoped he might pretend to ſome mark of fa-"vour." But the queen could not be prevailed with; becauſe, to ſay the truth, he was not much at that time in her good graces; ſome women about the court having infuſed an opinion into her, that he was not ſo regular in his life as he ought to be. The ſecretary laid the whole blame of this diſappointment upon the earl of Oxford; and freely told me, that he would never depend upon the earl's friendſhip as long as he lived, nor have any farther commerce with him, than what was neceſſary for carrying on the public ſervice. And although I have good reaſon to be aſſured that the treaſurer was wholly innocent in this point, as both himſelf and lady Maſham then proteſted to me; yet my lord Bolingbroke thought the appearances were ſo ſtrong, that I was never able to bring him over to my opinion.

The diviſions between theſe two great men, began to ſplit the court into parties. Harcourt lord chancellor, the dukes of Shrewſbury and Argyle, ſir William Wyndham, and one or two more, adhered to the ſecretary; the reſt were either neuters, or inclined to the treaſurer, whether from policy or gratitude; although they all agreed to blame and lament his myſterious and procraſtinating manner

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in acting, which the ſtate of affairs at that time could very ill admit, and muſt have rendered the earl of Oxford inexcuſable, if the queen's obſtinate temper had not put him under the neceſſity of exerting thoſe talents, wherewith, it muſt be confeſſed, his nature was already too well provided.

This miniſter had ſtronger paſſions than the ſecretary, but kept them under ſtricter government. My lord Bolingbroke was of a nature frank and open; and as men of great genius are ſuperior to common rules, he ſeldom gave himſelf the trouble of diſguiſing or ſubduing his reſentments, although he was ready enough to forget them. In matters of ſtate, as the earl was too reſerved, ſo, perhaps, the other was too free; not from any incontinency of talk, but from the mere contempt of multiplying ſecrets; although the graver counſellors imputed this liberty of ſpeech to vanity or lightneſs. And upon the whole, no two men could differ more, in their diverſions, their ſtudies, their ways of tranſacting buſineſs, their choice of company, or manner of converſation.

The queen, who was well informed of theſe animoſities among her ſervants, of which her own dubious management had been the original cauſe, began to find, and lament, the ill conſequences of them in her affairs, both at home and abroad; and to lay the blame upon her treaſurer, whoſe greateſt fault, in his whole miniſtry, was too much compliance with his miſtreſs, by which his meaſures were often diſconcerted, and himſelf brought under ſuſpicion by his friends.

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I am very confident that this alteration in the queen's temper towards the earl of Oxford could never have appeared, if he had not thought fit to make one ſtep in politicks which I have not been able to apprehend. When the queen firſt thought of making a change among her ſervants, after Dr. Sacheverel's trial, my lady Maſham was very much heard and truſted upon that point; and it was by her intervention, Mr. Harley was admitted into her majeſty's preſence. That lady was then in high favour with her miſtreſs; which, I believe, the earl was not ſo very ſedulous to cultivate or preſerve as if he had it much at heart, nor was altogether ſorry when he ſaw it under ſome degree of declination. The reaſons for this muſt be drawn from the common nature of mankind, and the incompatibility of power: but the juncture was not favourable for ſuch a refinement; becauſe it was early known to all who had but looked into the court, that this lady muſt have a ſucceſſor, who, upon pique and principle, would do all in her power to obſtruct his proceedings. My lady Maſham was a perſon of a plain ſound underſtanding, of great truth and ſincerity, without the leaſt mixture of falſehood or diſguiſe; of an honeſt boldneſs and courage, ſuperior to her ſex; firm and diſintereſted in her friendſhip; and full of love, duty, and veneration for the queen her miſtreſs; talents as ſeldom found or ſought for in a court, as unlikely to thrive while they are there: ſo that nothing could then be more unfortunate to the public, than a coldneſs between this lady and the firſt

miniſter;

miniſter; nor a greater miſtake in the latter, than to ſuffer, or connive at, the leſſening of her credit, which he quickly ſaw removed very diſadvantageouſly to another object *; and wanted the effects of, when his own was ſunk, in the only domeſtic affair for which I ever knew him under any concern.

While the queen's favour to the earl was thus gradually leſſening, the breaches between him and his friends grew every day wider; which he looked upon with great indifference, and ſeemed to have his thoughts only turned upon finding out ſome proper opportunity for delivering up his ſtaff: but this her majeſty would not then admit; becauſe, indeed, it was not eaſy to determine who ſhould ſucceed him.

In the midſt of theſe diſpoſitions at court, the queen fell dangerouſly ſick at Windſor, about Chriſtmas 1713. It was confidently reported in town, that ſhe was dead; and the heads of the expecting party were ſaid to have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the earl of Wharton's houſe. Whether this were true or not, yet thus much is certain, that the expreſſions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party; which proceeding, men of form did not allow to be altogether decent. A meſſenger was immediately diſpatched, with an account of the queen's illneſs, to the treaſurer; who was then in town,

* The Ducheſs of Somerſet.

and in order to ſtop the report of her death, appeared next day abroad in his chariot with a pair of horſes, and did not go down to Windſor till his uſual time. Upon his arrival there, the danger was over, but not the fright, which ſtill ſat on every body's face; and the account given of the confuſion and diſtraction the whole court had been under, is hardly to be conceived: upon which, the treaſurer ſaid to me, "Whenever any thing ails the queen, "theſe people are out of their wits; and yet they "are ſo thoughtleſs, that as ſoon as ſhe is well, they "act as if ſhe were immortal." I had ſufficient reaſon, both before and ſince, to allow his obſervation to be true, and that ſome ſhare of it might with juſtice be applied to himſelf.

The queen had early notice of this behaviour among the diſcontented leaders, during her illneſs. It was indeed, an affair of ſuch a nature, as required no aggravation: which, however, would not have been wanting; the women of both parties who then attended her majeſty, being well diſpoſed to repreſent it in the ſtrongeſt light. The reſult was, that the queen immediately laid aſide all her ſchemes and viſions of reconciling the two oppoſite intereſts; and entered upon a firm reſolution of adhering to the old Engliſh principles, from an opinion that the adverſe party waited impatiently for her death, upon views little conſiſting (as the language and opinion went then) with the ſafety of the conſtitution, either in church or ſtate. She therefore determined to fall into all juſt and proper methods that her miniſters ſhould adviſe her to,

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for the preſervation and continuance of both. This I was quickly aſſured of, not only by the lord chancellor, and lord Bolingbroke, but by the treaſurer himſelf.

I confeſs myſelf to have been then thoroughly perſuaded that this incident would perfectly reconcile the miniſters, by uniting them in purſuing one general intereſt; and conſidering no farther than what was fitteſt to be done, I could not eaſily foreſee any objections or difficulties that the earl of Oxford would make. I had, for ſome time, endeavoured to cultivate the ſtricteſt friendſhip between him and the general *, by telling both of them (which happened to be the truth) how kindly they ſpoke of each other; and by convincing the latter, of what advantage ſuch a union muſt be to her majeſty's ſervice. There was an affair upon which all our friends laid a more than ordinary weight. Among the horſe and foot guards appointed to attend on the queen's perſon, ſeveral officers took every occaſion, with great freedom and bitterneſs of ſpeech, to revile the miniſtry, upon the ſubject of the peace and the Pretender, not without many groſs expreſſions againſt the queen herſelf; ſuch as, I ſuppoſe, will hardly be thought on or attempted, but certainly not ſuffered, under the preſent powers: which proceeding, beſide the indignity, begot an opinion, that her majeſty's perſon might be better guarded than by ſuch keepers, who, after attending at court, or at the levee of the general or firſt mi-

* The Duke of Ormond.

niſter, adjourned, to publiſh their diſaffection in coffee-houſes and gaming-ordinaries, without any regard to decency or truth. It was propoſed, that ten or a dozen of the leaſt diſcreet among theſe gentlemen, ſhould be obliged to ſell their poſts in the guards; and that two or three, who had gone the greateſt lengths, ſhould have a price fixed for their commiſſions, ſomewhat below the exorbitant rate uſually demanded for a few years paſt. The duke of Ormond deſired but ten thouſand pounds to make the matter eaſy to thoſe officers who were to ſucceed; which ſum, his grace told me, the treaſurer had given him encouragement to expect, although he pleaded preſent want of money: and I cannot but ſay, that having often, at the duke's deſire, preſſed this miniſter to advance the money, he gave me ſuch anſwers as made me think he really intended it. But I was quickly undeceived; for, expoſtulating ſome days after with him upon the ſame ſubject, after great expreſſions of eſteem and friendſhip for the duke of Ormond, and mentioning ſome ill-treatment he had received from his friends, he ſaid, "He knew not why he ſhould do "other people's work." The truth is, that except the duke, my lord Trevor, and Mr. ſecretary Bromley, I could not find he had one friend left, of any conſequence, in her majeſty's ſervice. The lord chancellor *, lord Bolingbroke, and lady Maſham, openly declared againſt him; to whom were joined the biſhop of † Rocheſter and ſome others. Dart-

* Lord Harcourt. † Dr. Atterbury.

mouth,

mouth, then privy-ſeal, and Paulet, lord ſteward, ſtood neuters. The duke of Shrewſbury hated the treaſurer; but ſacrificed all reſentments to eaſe, profit, and power; and was then in Ireland, acting a part directly oppoſite to the court, which he had ſagacity enough to foreſee might quickly turn to account; ſo that the earl of Oxford ſtood almoſt ſingle, and every day found a viſible declenſion of the queen's favour towards him; which he took but little care to redreſs, deſiring nothing ſo much as leave to deliver up his ſtaff: which, however, as conjunctures then ſtood, he was not able to obtain; his adverſaries not having determined where to place it: neither was it, upon ſeveral accounts, a work ſo proper to be done while the parliament ſat, where the miniſtry had already loſt too much reputation, and eſpecially in the houſe of lords. By what I could gather from ſeveral diſcourſes with the treaſurer, it was not very difficult to find out how he reaſoned with himſelf. The church-party continued violently bent to have ſome neceſſary removals made in the guards, as well as a farther change in the civil employments through the kingdom. All the great officers about the court, or in her majeſty's ſervice, except the duke of Shrewſbury, and one or two more, were in the ſame opinion. The queen herſelf, ſince her laſt illneſs at Windſor, had the like diſpoſitions; and I think it may appear, from ſeveral paſſages already mentioned, that the blame of thoſe delays, ſo often complained of, did not originally lie at the earl of Oxford's door. But the ſtate of things was very

much changed by ſeveral incidents. The chancellor, lord Bolingbroke, and lady Maſham, had entirely forſaken him, upon ſuſpicions I have mentioned before; which, although they were founded on miſtake, yet he would never be at the pains to clear. And, as he firſt leſſened his confidence with the queen, by preſſing her upon thoſe very points, for which his friends accuſed him that they were not performed; ſo, upon her change of ſentiments after her recovery, he loſt all favour and credit with her, for not ſeconding thoſe new reſolutions, from which ſhe had formerly been ſo averſe. Beſides, he knew, as well as all others who were near the court, that it was hardly poſſible the queen could ſurvive many months; in which caſe, he muſt of neceſſity bring upon him the odium and vengeance of the ſucceſſor, and of that party which muſt then be predominant, who would quickly unravel all he had done: or, if her majeſty ſhould hold out longer than it was reaſonable to expect; yet, after having done a work that muſt procure him many new enemies, he could expect nothing but to be diſcharged in diſpleaſure. Upon theſe reaſons, he continued his excuſes to the duke of Ormond, for not advancing the money; and during the ſix laſt months of his miniſtry, would enter into no affairs but what immediately concerned the buſineſs of his office. That whole period was nothing elſe but a ſcene of murmuring and diſcontent, quarrel and miſunderſtanding, animoſity and hatred, between him and his former friends. In the mean time, the queen's countenance was wholly

changed

changed towards him; ſhe complained of his ſilence and ſullenneſs; and in return, gave him every day freſh inſtances of neglect or diſpleaſure.

The original of this quarrel among the miniſters, which had been attended with ſo many ill conſequences, began firſt between the treaſurer and lord Bolingbroke, from the cauſes and incidents I have already mentioned; and might very probably have been prevented, if the treaſurer had dealt with leſs reſerve, or the lord Bolingbroke had put that confidence in him, which ſo ſincere a friend might reaſonably have expected. Neither, perhaps, would a reconcilement have been an affair of much difficulty, if their friends, on both ſides, had not too much obſerved the common prudential forms of not caring to intermeddle; which, together with the addition of a ſhrug, was the conſtant anſwer I received from moſt of them, whenever I preſſed them upon the ſubject. I cannot tell whether my lord Trevor may be excepted, becauſe I had little acquaintance with him, although I am inclined to the negative. Mr. Prior, who was much loved and eſteemed by them both, as he well deſerved* upon account of every virtue that can qualify a man for private converſation, might have been the propereſt perſon for ſuch a work, if he could have thought it to conſiſt with the prudence of a courtier; but, however, he was abſent in France at thoſe junctures when it was chiefly neceſſary. And to ſay the truth, moſt perſons had ſo avowedly declared themſelves on one ſide or the other, that theſe two great men had hardly a common friend

* It ſhould be—'as he well deſerved *to be*.'

left, except myſelf. I had ever been treated with great kindneſs by them both; and I conceived, that what I wanted in weight and credit, might be made up with ſincerity and freedom. The former they never doubted, and the latter they had conſtant experience of: I had managed between them for almoſt two years; and their candour was ſo great, that they had not the leaſt jealouſy or ſuſpicion of me. And I thought I had done wonders, when, upon the queen's being laſt at Windſor, I put them in a coach to go thither, by appointment, without other company; where they would have four hours time to come to a good underſtanding: but, in two days after, I learned from them both, that nothing was done.

There had been three biſhopricks for ſome time vacant in Ireland; and I had prevailed on the earl of Oxford, that one of them ſhould be divided. Accordingly, four divines of that kingdom were named to the queen, and approved by her; but, upon ſome difficulties, not worth mentioning, the queen's mandatory letters to Ireland had been delayed. I preſſed the treaſurer every week while her majeſty was at Windſor, and every day after her return, to finiſh this affair, as a point of great conſequence to the church in that kingdom; and growing at length impatient of ſo many excuſes, I fell into ſome paſſion; when his lordſhip freely told me, "That he had been earneſt with the "queen upon that matter, about ten times the laſt "fortnight, but without effect; and that he found "his credit wholly at an end." This happened about

about eleven weeks before the queen died: and two nights after, ſitting with him and lord Bolingbroke, in lady Maſham's lodgings at St. James's for ſome hours, I told the treaſurer, "That, having de- "ſpaired of any reconciliation between them, I had "only ſtaid ſome time longer to forward the diſ- "poſal of thoſe biſhopricks in Ireland; which, "ſince his lordſhip told me was out of his power, I "now reſolved to retire immediately, as from an "evil I could neither help to redreſs, nor endure "the ſight of: That before I left them, I deſired "they would anſwer me two queſtions: firſt, whe- "ther theſe miſchiefs might not be remedied in two "minutes? and ſecondly, whether, upon the pre- "ſent foot, the miniſtry would not be infallibly "ruined in two months?" Lord Bolingbroke anſwered to each queſtion in the affirmative, and approved of my reſolution to retire; but the treaſurer, after his manner, evaded both, and only deſired me to dine with him next day. However, I immediately went down to a friend in Berkſhire, to await the iſſue, which ended in the removal of my lord treaſurer, and, three days after, in her majeſty's death.

Thus I have, with ſome pains, recollected ſeveral paſſages, which I thought were moſt material, for the ſatisfaction of thoſe, who appear ſo much at a loſs upon the unaccountable quarrels of the late miniſtry. For, indeed, it looked like a riddle, to ſee perſons of great and undiſputed abilities, called by the queen to her ſervice in the place of others, with whoſe proceedings ſhe was diſguſted, and

with great ſatisfaction to the clergy, the landed intereſt, and body of the people, running on a ſudden into ſuch a common beaten court-track of ruin, by diviſions among themſelves; not only without a viſible cauſe, but with the ſtrongeſt appearances to the contrary, and without any refuge to the uſual excuſe, of evil inſtrumcnts, or cunning adverſaries, to blow the coals of diſſenſion; for the work was entirely their own.

I impute the cauſe of theſe misfortunes to the queen; who, from the variety of hands ſhe had employed, and reaſonings ſhe had heard, ſince her coming to the crown, was grown very fond of moderating ſchemes; which, as things then ſtood, were by no means reducible to practice. She had likewiſe a good ſhare of that adherence to her own opinions, which is uſually charged upon her ſex. And laſtly (as I have before obſerved) having received ſome hints that ſhe had formerly been too much governed, ſhe grew very difficult to be adviſed.

The next in fault, was the treaſurer; who, not being able to influence the queen in many points, with relation to party, which his friends and the kingdom ſeemed to have much at heart, would needs take all the blame on himſelf, from a known principle of ſtate-prudence, "That a firſt miniſter "muſt always preſerve the reputation of power." But I have ever thought, that there are few maxims in politicks, which, at ſome conjunctures, may not be very liable to an exception. The queen was by no means inclined to make many changes in em-

ployments;

ployments; ſhe was poſitive in her nature, and extremely given to delay. And ſurely theſe were no proper qualities for a chief miniſter to perſonate towards his neareſt friends, who were brought into employment upon very different views and promiſes. Nor could any reputation of power be worth preſerving, at the expence of bringing ſincerity into queſtion. I remember, upon a Saturday, when the miniſters, and one or two friends of the treaſurer, conſtantly met to dine at his houſe, one of the company attacked him very warmly, on account that a certain lord, who perpetually oppoſed the queen's meaſures, was not diſmiſſed from a great employment, which, beſide other advantages, gave that lord the power of chooſing ſeveral members of parliament. The treaſurer evaded the matter with his uſual anſwer, "That this was "whipping-day." Upon which, the ſecretary Bolingbroke, turning to me, ſaid, "It was a "ſtrange thing that my lord Oxford would not be "ſo kind to his friends, and ſo juſt to his own in-"nocence, as to vindicate himſelf where he had no "blame; for, to his knowledge and the chancel-"lor's, (who was then alſo preſent) the treaſurer "had frequently and earneſtly moved the queen "upon that very point, without effect." Whereupon, this miniſter, finding himſelf preſſed ſo far, told the company, "That he had at laſt prevailed "with her majeſty; and the thing would be done "in two days:" which followed accordingly. I mention this fact as an inſtance of the earl of Oxford's diſpoſition to preſerve ſome reputation of

power in himſelf, and remove all blame from the queen; and this, to my particular knowledge, was a frequent caſe; but how far juſtifiable in point of prudence, I have already given my opinion. However, the treaſurer's friends were yet much more to blame than himſelf: he had abundance of merit with them all; not only upon account of the publick, the whole change of the miniſtry having been effected, without any intervention of theirs, by him and lady Maſham; but likewiſe from the conſequence of that change, whereby the greateſt employments of the kingdom were divided among them; and therefore, in common juſtice, as well as prudence, they ought to have been more indulgent to his real failings, rather than ſuſpect him of imaginary ones, as they often did, through ignorance, refinement, or miſtake: and I mention it to the honour of the ſecretary Bolingbroke, as well as of the treaſurer, that having myſelf, upon many occaſions, joined with the former in quarreling with the earl's conduct upon certain points, the ſecretary would, in a little time after, frankly own that he was altogether miſtaken.

Laſtly, I cannot excuſe the remiſſneſs of thoſe whoſe buſineſs it ſhould have been, as it certainly was their intereſt, to have interpoſed their good offices for healing this unhappy breach among the miniſters: but of this I have already ſpoken.

CHAPTER II.

Written about a YEAR after.

HAVING proceeded thus far, I thought it would be unneceſſary to ſay any thing upon the other head, relating to the deſign of bringing in the Pretender: for, upon the earl of Oxford's impeachment, the gentlemen of the prevailing ſide aſſured me, "That the whole myſtery would be "ſoon laid open to the world;" and were ready to place the merit of their cauſe upon that iſſue. This diſcovery we all expected from the Report of the Secret Committee: but, when that treatiſe appeared, (whoever were the compilers) we found it to be rather the work of a luxuriant fancy, an abſolute ſtate-pamphlet arguing for a cauſe, than a dry recital of facts, or a tranſcript of letters; and for what related to the Pretender, the authors contented themſelves with informing the publick, that the whole intrigue was privately carried on, in perſonal treaties between the earl of Oxford and the abbé Gualtier; which muſt needs be a doctrine hard of digeſtion, to thoſe who have the leaſt knowledge either of the earl or the abbé, or upon what foot the latter ſtood at that time with the Engliſh miniſtry: I conceive, that whoever is at diſtance enough, to be out of fear either of a vote or a meſſenger, will be as eaſily brought to believe

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all the Popiſh legends together. And to make ſuch an aſſertion, in a public report delivered to the houſe of commons, without the leaſt attempt to prove it, will, ſome time or other, be reckoned ſuch a ſtrain upon truth and probability, as is hard to be equaled in a Spaniſh romance. I think it will be allowed, that the articles of high-treaſon drawn up againſt the earl, were not altogether founded upon the report; or at leaſt, that thoſe important hints about bringing in the Pretender, were more proper materials to furniſh out a pamphlet, than an impeachment; ſince this accuſation has no part even among the high crimes and miſdemeanors.

But, notwithſtanding all this, and that the earl of Oxford, after two years reſidence in the Tower, was at length diſmiſſed without any trial; yet the reproach ſtill went on, that the queen's laſt miniſtry, in concert with their miſtreſs, were deeply engaged in a deſign to ſet the Pretender upon the throne. The cultivating of which accuſation, I impute to the great goodneſs of thoſe in power, who are ſo gracious to aſſign a reaſon, or at leaſt give a countenance, for that ſudden and univerſal ſweep they thought fit to make, on their firſt appearance: whereas they might as well have ſpared that ceremony, by a ſhort recourſe to the royal prerogative, which gives every prince a liberty of chooſing what ſervants he will.

There are two points which I believe myſelf able to make out. Firſt, that neither the late queen, nor her miniſters, did ever entertain a deſign of bringing

bringing in the Pretender during her majeſty's life, or that he ſhould ſucceed after her deceaſe.

Secondly, that if they conceived ſuch a deſign, it was abſolutely neceſſary to proſecute it from the firſt year of their miniſtry; becauſe, for at leaſt a year before the queen's death, it was impoſſible to have put ſuch a deſign in execution.

* I muſt premiſe with three circumſtances, which have a great effect on me, and muſt have the like upon thoſe among my friends, who have any tolerable opinion of my veracity, and it is only to thoſe that I offer them.

I remember, during the late treaty of peace, diſcourſing at ſeveral times with ſome very eminent perſons of the oppoſite ſide, with whom I had long acquaintance, I aſked them ſeriouſly, "whether "they, or any of their friends, did in earneſt be- "lieve, or ſuſpect, the queen, or the miniſtry, to "have any favourable regards towards the Pre- "tender?" They all confeſſed, for themſelves, "That they believed nothing of the matter:" And particularly, a perſon at preſent in great employment ſaid to me, with much frankneſs, "You ſet "up the Church and Sacheverel againſt us; and "we ſet up Trade and the Pretender againſt you."

The ſecond point I would obſerve, is this, that during the courſe of the late miniſtry, upon occaſion of the libels every day thrown about, I had the curioſity to aſk almoſt every perſon in great em-

* 'I muſt *premiſe with* three circumſtances, &c.' *premiſe with*—is not Engliſh; it ſhould be—I muſt premiſe *that* there are three circumſtances, &c.

ployment,

ployment, "Whether they knew, or had heard, "of any one particular man, (except thoſe who "profeſſed to be Nonjurors) that diſcovered the "leaſt inclination towards the Pretender." And the whole number they could muſter up, did not amount to above five or ſix; among which, one was a certain old lord lately dead, and one a private gentleman, of little conſequence, and of a broken fortune: yet I do not believe myſelf to have omitted any one great man that came in my way, except the duke of Buckingham, in whoſe company I never was above once or twice at moſt. I am, therefore, as confident as a man can be of any truth which will not admit a demonſtration, that, upon the queen's death, if we except Papiſts and Nonjurors, there could not be five hundred perſons in England, of all ranks, who had any thoughts of the Pretender; and among theſe, not ſix of any quality or conſequence: but how it has come to paſs that ſeveral millions are ſaid to have ſince changed their ſentiments, it ſhall not be my part to inquire.

The laſt point is of the ſame ſtrain; and I offer it, like the two former, to convince only thoſe who are willing to believe me on my own word; that having been, for the ſpace of almoſt four years, very nearly and perpetually converſant with thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare of power, and this in their times of leiſure as well as buſineſs, I could never hear one ſingle word let fall in favour of the Pretender, although I was curious enough to obſerve in a particular manner what paſſed upon

that

that ſubject. And I cannot but think, that if ſuch an affair had been in agitation, I muſt have had either very bad luck, or a very ſmall ſhare of common underſtanding, not to have diſcovered ſome grounds, at leaſt, for ſuſpicion: becauſe I never yet knew a miniſter of ſtate, or indeed any other man, ſo great a maſter of ſecrecy, as to be able, among thoſe he nearly converſed with, wholly to conceal his opinions, however he may cover his deſigns. This I ſay, upon a ſuppoſition that they would have held on the maſk always before me, which, however, I have no reaſon to believe. And I confeſs, it is with the expence of ſome patience, that I hear this matter ſummarily determined, by thoſe who had no advantages of knowing any thing that paſſed, otherwiſe than what they found in a libel or a coffee-houſe: or at beſt, from general reaſonings built upon miſtaken facts. Now, although what I have hitherto ſaid upon this point, can have no influence farther than my own perſonal credit reaches; yet, I confeſs, I ſhall never be brought to change my opinion, till ſome one who had more opportunities than I, will be able to produce any ſingle particular, from the letters, the diſcourſes, or the actions of thoſe miniſters, as a proof of what they alledge; which has not yet been attempted or pretended.

But, I believe, there may be ſeveral arguments of another nature produced, which can make it very evident, to thoſe who will hear reaſon, that the queen's miniſters never had it in their thoughts to alter the ſucceſſion of the crown.

For,

For, firſt, when her majeſty had determined to change her ſervants, it is very well known, that thoſe whom ſhe appointed to ſucceed them, were generally accounted favourers of what is called the Low-church party; not only my lords Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Harcourt, but a great majority of the reſt: among which, I can immediately name the dukes of Shrewſbury, Newcaſtle, and Argyle; the earls of Peterborough, Rivers, Strafford, Hay, and Orrery; the lords Manſel and Maſham, with ſeveral others, whom I cannot at preſent recollect. Whereas, of the other party, the dukes of Ormond and Buckingham, and the earl of Dartmouth, were the only perſons introduced at firſt, and very few afterwards: which, I ſuppoſe, will clearly evince, that the bringing in of the Pretender, was not the original ſcheme of ſuch miniſters, and that they were by no means proper inſtruments for ſuch a work.

And whoever knew any thing of the queen's diſpoſition, muſt believe ſhe had no inclinations at all in favour of the Pretender. She was highly and publicly diſpleaſed with my lord Bolingbroke, becauſe he was ſeen under the ſame roof with that perſon at an opera, when his lordſhip was ſent to France, upon ſome difficulties about the peace. Her majeſty ſaid, "that he ought immediately to "to have withdrawn, upon the appearance of the "other;" wherein, to ſpeak with freedom, I think her judgment was a little miſtaken. And at her toilet, among her women, when mention happened to be made of the chevalier, ſhe would frequently

let fall expreſſions of ſuch a nature, as made it manifeſt how little ſhe deſerved thoſe reproaches, which have been caſt on her ſince her death, upon that account.

Beſides, I have already ſaid, that her majeſty began thoſe changes at court, for no other cauſe than her perſonal diſpleaſure againſt a certain family, and their allies; and from the hope ſhe had to obtain a peace, by the removal of ſome, whoſe intereſt it was to obſtruct it: That when the former chancellor, preſident, and others came to her, determined to deliver up their employments, ſhe preſſed them, ſomewhat more than it became her dignity, to continue in their ſtations; of which, I ſuppoſe, my lord Cowper is yet a living witneſs.

I am forced to repeat, what I have before obſerved, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty ſhe could be ever perſuaded, to diſmiſs any perſon upon the ſcore of party; and that ſhe drove her miniſters into the greateſt diſtreſs, upon my lord Nottingham's vote againſt any peace without Spain, for want of ſpeaking to one or two depending lords, although with the laſt danger, of breaking the meaſures ſhe was moſt fond of, towards ſettling the repoſe of Europe. She had beſides, upon the removal of the ducheſs of Marlborough, choſen another great lady to ſucceed, who quickly grew into higher credit than all her miniſters together: a lady openly profeſſing the utmoſt averſion from the perſons, the principles, and meaſures of thoſe, who were then in power, and excelling all, even of her own ſex, in every art of inſinuation: and this her majeſty thought

thought fit to do, in oppoſition to the ſtrongeſt repreſentations that could poſſibly be made to her, of the inconveniencies which would enſue. Her only objection, againſt ſeveral clergymen recommended to her for promotions in the church, was, their being too violent in party. And a lady in high favour with her, has frequently aſſured me, "That, "whenever ſhe moved the queen to diſcard ſome "perſons, who, upon all occaſions, with great vi-"rulence oppoſed the court, her majeſty would "conſtantly refuſe, and at the ſame time condemn "her for too much party-zeal."

But, beſide all this, there never was a more ſtale or antiquated cauſe than that of the Pretender, at the time when her majeſty choſe her laſt miniſters, who were moſt of them children or youths when king James II. abdicated. They found a prince upon the throne, before they were of years to trouble themſelves with ſpeculations upon government; and conſequently, could have no ſcruples of conſcience in ſubmitting to the preſent powers, ſince they hardly remembered any other. And truly, this was in general the caſe of the whole kingdom: for the adherents of king James II. were all either dead, or in exile, or ſunk in obſcurity, laden with years and want; ſo that, if any guilt were contracted by the Revolution, it was generally underſtood that our anceſtors were * only to anſwer for it. And I am confident, (with an exception to

* This poſition of the word, only, often occaſions ambiguity; it ſhould be—'that our *anceſtors only* were to anſwer for it.

profeſſed

profeſſed Nonjurors) there was not one man in ten thouſand, through England, who had other ſentiments. Nor can the contrary opinion be defended, by arguing * the prodigious diſaffection at preſent; becauſe the ſame thing has happened before, from the ſame cauſes, in our own country, and within the memory of man, although not with the ſame event.

But ſuch a diſaffection could hardly have been raiſed againſt an abſent prince, who was only in expectation of the throne; and indeed, I cannot but reckon it as a very ſtrong argument, for the good diſpoſition, both in the miniſtry and kingdom, towards the houſe of Hanover, that during my lord Oxford's adminiſtration, there was never thrown out the leaſt reflexion againſt that illuſtrious houſe, in any libel or pamphlet; which would hardly have happened, if the ſmall party-writers could have thought, that by ſuch a performance, they would have made their court to thoſe in power; and which would certainly have been a very uſeful preliminary, if any attempt had been intended towards altering the ſucceſſion to the crown. But, however, to ſay the truth, invectives againſt the abſent, and with whom we have nothing to do, although they may render perſons little and contemptible, can hardly make them odious: for, hatred is produced by motives of a very different nature, as experience has ſhewn. And although politicians affirm it more eligible for a prince to be hated, than deſpiſed, yet that maxim is better

* It ſhould be—'by arguing *from* the, &c.'

calculated for an abſolute monarchy, than for the climate of England. But I am ſenſible this is a digreſſion; therefore I return.

The treaties made by her majeſty with France and Spain, were calculated, in ſeveral points, directly againſt the Pretender, as he has now found to his coſt, and as it is manifeſt to all the world. Neither could any thing be more ſuperficial, than the politicks of thoſe, who could be brought to think that the regent of France, would ever engage in meaſures againſt the preſent king of England; and how the grimace of an ambaſſador's taking, or not taking his public character, as in the caſe of the earl of Stairs, ſhould ſerve ſo long for an amuſement, cannot be ſufficiently wondered at. What can be plainer, than that the chief intereſt of the duke of Orleans, is woven and twiſted with that of king George; and this, whether it ſhall be thought convenient to ſuffer the young king of France to live longer, or not? For, in the ſecond caſe, the regent perfectly agrees with our preſent king in this particular circumſtance, that the whole order of ſucceſſion has been broken for his ſake; by which means, he likewiſe will be encumbered with a Pretender, and thereby engaged, upon the ſtrongeſt motives, to prevent the union of France and Spain under one monarch. And even in the other caſe, the chance of a boy's life, and his leaving heirs-male of his body, is ſo dubious, that the hopes of a crown to the regent, or his children, will certainly keep that prince, as long as his power continues, very firm in his alliance with England.

And

And as this deſign was originally intended and avowed by the queen's miniſters, in their treaties with France and Spain, ſo the events have fully anſwered in every particular. The preſent king ſucceeded to theſe crowns, with as hearty and univerſal a diſpoſition of the people, as could poſſibly conſiſt with the grief, for the loſs of ſo gracious and excellent a princeſs, as her late majeſty. The parliament was moſt unanimous, in doing every thing that could endear them to a new monarch. The general peace did entirely put an end to any deſign, which France or Spain might probably have laid, to make a diverſion, by an invaſion upon Scotland, with the Pretender at the head, in caſe her majeſty had happened to die during the courſe of the war: and upon the death of the late French king, the duke of Orleans fell immediately into the ſtricteſt meaſures with England; as the queen and her miniſters eaſily foreſaw it would be neceſſary for him to do, from every reaſon that could regard his own intereſt. If the queen had died but a ſhort time before the peace, and either of the two great powers engaged againſt us, had thought fit to have thrown ſome troops into Scotland, although it could not have been a very agreeable circumſtance to a ſucceſſor and a ſtranger, yet the univerſal inclinations at that time in England, toward the houſe of Hanover, would, in all probability, have prevented the conſequences of ſuch an enterprize. But, on the other ſide, if the war had continued a year longer than her majeſty's life, and the ſame cauſes had been applied to produce the ſame effects upon

the affections of the people, the iſſue muſt inevitably have been, either a long and bloody civil war, or a ſudden revolution. So that no incident could have arrived more effectual, to fortify the preſent king's title, and ſecure his poſſeſſion, than that very peace, ſo much exploded by one party, and ſo juſtly celebrated by the other; in continuing to declare which opinions, under the preſent ſituation of things, it is not very improbable that they may both be in jeſt.

But, if any articles of that peace were likely to endanger the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, how could it come to paſs that the Dutch, who were guarantees of that ſucceſſion, and valued for * zealous defenders of it, ſhould be ſo ready with their offers to comply with every article; and this for no greater a reward than a ſhare in the Aſſiento trade, which the oppoſers of peace repreſented to be only a trifle? That the fact is true, I appeal to M. De Buys, who, upon ſome difficulties the miniſtry were under, by the earl of Nottingham's vote againſt any peace, while Spain continued in the Bourbon family, undertook to make that matter eaſy, by getting a full approbation from the States, his maſters, of all her majeſty's proceedings, provided they might be ſharers in that trade. I can add this farther, that ſome months after the concluſion of the peace, and amid all the appearing diſcontents of the Dutch, a gentleman who had long reſided in Holland, and was occaſionally employed by the miniſters here, aſſured me, "That "he had power from the penſionary, to treat with

* It ſhould be—'for *being* zealous defenders of it.'

"the

" the earl of Oxford, about ſending hither an ex-
" traordinary embaſſy from Holland, to declare
" that the States were fully ſatisfied with the whole
" plan of the peace, upon certain conditions, which
" were eaſy and honourable, and ſuch as had no
" relation at all to the Pretender." How this hap-pened to fail, I never inquired, nor had any diſ-courſe about it with thoſe in power: for, then their affairs were growing deſperate, by the earl of Ox-ford's declination in the queen's favour; both which became ſo public, as well as her majeſty's bad ſtate of health, that I ſuppoſe, thoſe circum-ſtances might eaſily cool the Dutch politicians in that purſuit.

I remember to have heard it objected againſt the late miniſtry, as an inſtance of their inclination to-wards the Pretender, " That they were careleſs in
" cultivating a good correſpondence with the houſe
" of Hanover." And on the other ſide, I know very well what continual pains were employed, to ſatisfy and inform the elector and his miniſters, in every ſtep taken by her majeſty, and what offers were made to his highneſs, for any farther ſecuri-ties of the ſucceſſion in him and his family, that could conſiſt with the honour and ſafety of the queen. To this purpoſe were all the inſtructions given to earl Rivers, Mr. Thomas Harley, lord Clarendon, and ſome others. But all endeavours were rendered abortive by a fooliſh circumſtance, which has often made me remember the common obſervation, of the greateſt events depending fre-quently upon the loweſt, vileſt, and obſcureſt

cauſes: and this is never more verified than in courts, and the iſſues of public affairs, whereof I could produce, from my own knowledge and obſervation, three or four very ſurprizing inſtances. I have ſeen an old * bedmaker, by officiouſly going to one door, when gratitude as well as common ſenſe ſhould have ſent her to another, become the inſtrument of putting the nation to the expence of ſome thouſand lives, and ſeveral millions of money. I have known as great an event from the ſtupidity, or wilfulneſs, of a beggarly Dutchman †, who lingered on purpoſe half an hour at a viſit, when he had promiſed to be ſomewhere elſe. Of no greater dignity was that circumſtance, which rendered ineffectual, all endeavours of the late miniſtry, to eſtabliſh themſelves in the good graces of the court of Hanover, as I ſhall particularly relate in another work. It may ſuffice to hint at preſent, that a delay in conveying a very inconſiderable ſum, to a very inconſiderable French ‡ vagrant, gave the opportunity to a more induſtrious party, of corrupting that channel, through which all the ideas of the diſpoſitions and deſigns of the queen, the miniſters, and the whole Britiſh nation, were conveyed.

The ſecond point which I conceive myſelf able to make out, is this: that if the queen's miniſters

* Mrs. Foiſſon, neceſſary-woman to the queen, preferred to that employment by lady Maſham.

† Carew lord Hunſdon, born and bred in Holland.

‡ Robithan, then at Hanover, but in the ſervice of ſome other German prince, it is not known how, got into ſome credit with the elector.

had,

had, with or without the knowledge of their miſtreſs, entertained any thoughts of altering the ſucceſſion in favour of the Pretender, it was abſolutely neceſſary for them, to have begun and proſecuted that deſign, as ſoon as they came into her majeſty's ſervice.

There were two circumſtances, which would have made it neceſſary for them to have loſt no time. Firſt, becauſe it was a work that could not poſſibly be done on a ſudden; for the whole nation, almoſt to a man, excepting profeſſed Nonjurors, had conceived the utmoſt abhorrence of a Popiſh ſucceſſor; and as I have already obſerved, the ſcruple of conſcience, upon the point of loyalty, was wholly confined to a few antiquated Nonjurors, who lay ſtarving in obſcurity: ſo that, in order to have brought ſuch an affair about in a parliamentary way, * ſome years muſt have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, to have rendered one perſon odious, and another amiable; neither of which is to be ſoon compaſſed towards abſent princes, unleſs by comparing them with thoſe of whom we have had experience, which was not then the caſe.

The other circumſtance was, the bad condition of the queen's health; her majeſty growing every day more unwieldy, and the gout, with other diſ-

* 'Some years, &c.' This ſentence is very uncouth in its arrangement, and far from being clear as to meaning. It might be thus amended—'Some years muſt have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, *in order* to have rendered one perſon odious, and the other amiable.'

orders, increaſing on her; ſo that whoever was near the court, for about the two laſt years of her reign, might boldly have fixed the period of her life to a very few months, without pretending to propheſy. And how little a time the miniſters had, for ſo great a work as that of changing the ſucceſſion of the crown, and how difficult the very attempt would have been, may be judged, from the umbrage taken by ſeveral lords of the church party, in the laſt year of her reign, who appeared under an apprehenſion that the very quarrels among the miniſters, might poſſibly be of ſome diſadvantage to the houſe of Hanover. And the univerſal declaration both among lords and commons at that time, as well in favour of the Elector, as againſt the Pretender, are an argument, beyond all conviction, that ſome years muſt have been ſpent in altering the diſpoſitions of the people. Upon this occaſion, I ſhall not ſoon forget what a great miniſter then ſaid to me, and which I have been ſince aſſured was likewiſe the duke of Shrewſbury's opinion: "That there could be no doubt of the "Elector's undiſturbed ſucceſſion; but the chief "difficulty lay in the future diſaffection of the "church and people, and landed intereſt, from "that univerſal change of men and meaſures, "which he foreſaw would arrive." And it muſt be, to all impartial men, above a thouſand witneſſes, how innocent her majeſty's ſervants were upon this article; that knowing ſo well through what channels all favour was to paſs upon the queen's demiſe, they, by their coming into power,

had

had utterly and for ever broken all meaſures with the oppoſite party; and that in the beginning of their adminiſtration, there wanted not, perhaps, certain favourable junctures, which ſome future circumſtances would not have failed to cultivate. Yet their actions ſhewed them ſo far from any view towards the Pretender, that they neglected purſuing thoſe meaſures, which they had conſtantly in their power, not only of ſecuring themſelves, but the intereſt of the church, without any violence to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the perſon of the Elector. And this unhappy neglect I take to have been the only diſgrace of their miniſtry. To prevent this evil, was, I confeſs, the chief point wherein all my little politicks terminated; and the methods were eaſy and obvious. But whoever goes about to gain favour with a prince, by a readineſs to enlarge his prerogative, although out of principle and opinion, ought to provide that he be not outbid by another party, however profeſſing a contrary principle. For I never yet read or heard of any party, acting in oppoſition to the true intereſt of their country, whatever republican denominations they affected to be diſtinguiſhed by, who would not be contented to chaffer public liberty, for perſonal power, or for an opportunity of gratifying their revenge; of which truth, Greece and Rome, as well as many other ſtates, will furniſh plenty of examples. This reflexion I could not well forbear, although it may be of little uſe, farther than to diſcover my own reſentment. And yet, perhaps, that misfortune ought

ought rather to be imputed to the want of concert and confidence, than of prudence or of courage.

I muſt here take notice of an accuſation charged upon the late miniſtry by the houſe of commons, that they put a lie, or falſehood, into the queen's mouth, to be delivered to her parliament. Mr. Thomas Harley was ſent to the Elector of Hanover, with inſtructions to offer his highneſs any farther ſecurities, for ſettling the ſucceſſion in him and his family, that could conſiſt with her majeſty's honour and ſafety. This gentleman writ a letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, a little before his return from Hanover, ſignifying, in direct terms, "That the "Elector expreſſed himſelf ſatisfied in the queen's "proceedings, and deſired to live in confidence "with her." He writ to the ſame purpoſe to one of the under-ſecretaries; and mentioned the fact as a thing that much pleaſed him, and what he deſired might be as public as poſſible. Both theſe letters I have read; and the queen, as ſhe had reaſon to ſuppoſe, being ſufficiently authorized by this notice from her miniſter, made mention of that information in a ſpeech from the throne. If the fact were a lie, it is what I have not heard Mr. Harley to have been charged with. From what has ſince paſſed in the world, I ſhould indeed be inclined to grant it might have been a compliment in his highneſs, and perhaps underſtood to be ſo by the queen; but, without queſtion, her majeſty had a fair excuſe to take the Elector according to the literal meaning of his words. And if this be ſo, the

imputation

imputation of falſehood muſt remain, where theſe accuſers of that excellent princeſs's veracity, will, I ſuppoſe, not profeſs at leaſt, an inclination to place it.

I am very willing to mention the point, wherein, as I ſaid, all my little politicks terminated, and wherein I may pretend to know that the miniſters were of the ſame opinion; and would have put it in practice, if it pleaſed God to let them continue to act with any kind of unanimity.

I have already obſerved, how well it was known at court, what meaſures the Elector intended to follow, whenever his ſucceſſion ſhould take place; and what hands he would employ in the adminiſtration of his affairs. I have likewiſe mentioned ſome facts and reaſons, which influenced and fixed his highneſs in that determination, notwithſtanding all poſſible endeavours to divert him from it. Now if we conſider the diſpoſitions of England at that time, when almoſt the whole body of the clergy, a vaſt majority of the landed intereſt, and of the people in general, were of the church-party; it muſt be granted that one or two acts, which might have paſſed in ten days, would have put it utterly out of the power of the ſucceſſor, to have procured a houſe of commons of a different ſtamp, and this with very little diminution to the prerogative; which acts might have been only temporary. For the uſual arts to gain parliaments, can hardly be applied with ſucceſs after the election, againſt a majority at leaſt of three in four; becauſe the trouble and expence would be too great, beſide

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the loſs of reputation. For, neither could ſuch a number of members find their account in point of profit, nor would the crown be at ſo much charge and hazard, merely for the ſake of governing by a ſmall party, againſt the bent and genius of the nation. And as to all attempts of influencing electors, they would have been ſufficiently provided for, by the ſcheme intended. I ſuppoſe it need not be added, that the government of England cannot move a ſtep, while the houſe of commons continues to diſlike proceedings, or perſons employed; at leaſt in an age where parliaments are grown ſo frequent, and are made ſo neceſſary: whereas a miniſter is but the creature of a day; and a houſe of lords has been modeled in many reigns, by enlarging the number, as well as by other obvious expedients.

The judicious reader will ſoon comprehend how eaſily the legiſlature at that time could have provided againſt the power and influence of a court, or miniſtry, in future elections, without the leaſt injury to the ſucceſſion, and even without the modern invention of perpetuating themſelves; which, however, I muſt needs grant to be one of the moſt effectual, vigorous, and reſolute proceedings that I have yet met with in reading or information. For the long parliament under king Charles I., although it ſhould be allowed of good authority, will hardly amount to an example.

I muſt again urge and repeat, that thoſe who charge the earl of Oxford, and the reſt of that miniſtry, with a deſign of altering the ſucceſſion of

the crown in favour of the Pretender, will perhaps be at ſome difficulty to fix the time, when that deſign was in agitation: for, if ſuch an attempt had begun with their power, it is not eaſy to aſſign a reaſon why it did not ſucceed; becauſe there were certain periods, when her majeſty and her ſervants were extremely popular, and the houſe of Hanover not altogether ſo much, upon account of ſome behaviour and management in one or two of their miniſters here, and ſome other circumſtances that may better be paſſed over in ſilence: all which, however, had no other conſequence, than that of repeated meſſages of kindneſs and aſſurance to the Elector. During the laſt two years of the queen's life, her health was in ſuch a condition, that it was wondered * how ſhe could hold out ſo long: and then, as I have already obſerved, it was too late and hazardous to engage in an enterprize which required ſo much time, and which the miniſters themſelves had rendered impracticable, by the whole courſe of their former proceedings, as well as by the continuance and heightening of thoſe diſſentions, which had early riſen among them.

The party now in power will eaſily agree, that this deſign of overthrowing the ſucceſſion, could not be owing to any principle of conſcience in thoſe whom they accuſe; for they knew very well, by their own experience and obſervation, that ſuch kind of ſcruples, have given but ſmall diſturbance of late years, in theſe kingdoms. Since intereſt is therefore the only teſt, by which we are to judge the intentions of thoſe who manage public affairs,

* It ſhould be—'wondered *at*.

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it would have been but reaſonable to have ſhewn how the intereſt of the queen's miniſters, could be advanced by introducing the Pretender, before they were charged with ſuch an intention. Her majeſty was ſeveral years younger than her intended ſucceſſor; and at the beginning of that miniſtry, had no diſorders, except the gout, which is not uſually reckoned a ſhortener of life; and thoſe in chief truſt were, generally ſpeaking, older than their miſtreſs: ſo that no perſons had ever a fairer proſpect of running on the natural life of an Engliſh miniſtry; conſidering, likewiſe, the general vogue of the kingdom, at that time, in their favour. And it will be hard to find an inſtance in hiſtory, of a ſet of men, in full poſſeſſion of power, ſo ſanguine as to form an enterprize of overthrowing the government, without the viſible proſpect of a general defection, which (then at leaſt) was not to be hoped for. Neither do I believe it was ever heard of, that a miniſtry, in ſuch circumſtances, durſt engage in ſo dangerous an attempt, without the direct commands of their ſovereign. And as to the perſons then in ſervice, if they may be allowed to have common ſenſe, they would much ſooner have ſurrendered their employments, than hazard the loſs of their heads, at ſo great odds, before they had tried or changed the diſpoſition of the parliament; which is an accuſation, that I think, none of their libelers have charged upon them, at leaſt till towards the end of their miniſtry; and then, very abſurdly, becauſe the want of time, and other circumſtances, rendered ſuch a work im-

poſſible, for ſeveral reaſons which I have already related.

And whoever conſiders the late queen, ſo little enterprizing in her nature, ſo much given to delay, and at the ſame time ſo obſtinate in her opinions, (as reſtineſs is commonly attended with ſlowneſs) ſo great a purſuer of peace and quiet, and ſo exempt from the two powerful paſſions of love and hatred; will hardly think ſhe had a ſpirit turned for ſuch an undertaking: if we add to this, the contempt ſhe often expreſſed for the perſon and concerns of the chevalier her brother, of which I have already ſaid enough to be underſtood.

It has been objected againſt the late queen and her ſervants, as a mark of no favourable diſpoſition towards the houſe of Hanover, that the electoral prince was not invited to reſide in England: and at the ſame time, it ought to be obſerved, that this objection was raiſed and ſpread, by the leaders of that party, who firſt oppoſed the counſel of inviting him; offering, among other arguments againſt it, the example of queen Elizabeth, who would not ſo much as ſuffer her ſucceſſor to be declared, expreſſing herſelf, that ſhe would not live with her grave-ſtone always in her ſight; although the caſe be by no means parallel between the two queens. For, in her late majeſty's reign, the crown was as firmly ſettled on the Hanover Family, as the legiſlature could do it: and the queſtion was only, whether the preſumptive heir, of diſtant kindred, ſhould keep his court in the ſame kingdom and metropolis with the ſovereign, while the nation was torn

torn between different parties, to be at the head of that faction which her majeſty and the body of her people utterly diſapproved; and therefore, the leaders on both ſides, when they were in power, did poſitively determine this queſtion in the negative. And if we may be allowed to judge by events, the reaſons were cogent enough; ſince differences may happen to ariſe between two princes the moſt nearly allied in blood; although it be true indeed, that where the duty to a parent, is added to the allegiance of a ſubject, the conſequence of family-diſſentions may not always be conſiderable.

For my own part, I freely told my opinion to the miniſters; and did afterwards offer many reaſons for it, in a diſcourſe intended for the publick, but ſtopped by the queen's death, that the young grandſon (whoſe name I cannot remember) ſhould be invited over to be educated in England; by which, I conceived, the queen might be ſecure from the influence of cabals and factions; the zealots, who affected to believe the ſucceſſion in danger, could have no pretences to complain; and the nation might one day hope to be governed by a prince of Engliſh manners and language, as well as acquainted with the true conſtitution of church and ſtate. And this was the judgment of thoſe at the helm, before I offered it: neither were they or their miſtreſs to be blamed, that ſuch a reſolution was not purſued. Perhaps, from what has ſince happened, the reader will be able to ſatisfy himſelf.

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I have now ſaid all I could think convenient (conſidering the time wherein I am writing) upon thoſe two points, which I propoſed to diſcourſe on, wherein I have dealt with the utmoſt impartiality, and I think, upon the faireſt ſuppoſition, which is that of allowing men to act upon the motives of their intereſts and their paſſions: for I am not ſo weak as to think one miniſtry more virtuous than another, unleſs by chance, or by extraordinary prudence and virtue of the prince; which laſt, taking mankind in the lump, and adding the great counterbalance of royal education, is a very rare accident; and, where it happens, is even then of little uſe, when factions are violent. But it ſo falls out, that among contending parties in England, the general intereſt of church and ſtate, is more the private intereſt of one ſide than the other; ſo that, whoever profeſſes to act upon a principle of obſerving the laws of his country, may have a ſafe rule to follow, by diſcovering whoſe particular advantage it chiefly is, that the conſtitution ſhould be preſerved entire in all its parts. For there cannot, properly ſpeaking, be above two parties in ſuch a government as ours; and one ſide, will find themſelves obliged to take in all the ſubaltern denominations, of thoſe who diſlike the preſent eſtabliſhment, in order to make themſelves a balance againſt the other; and ſuch a party, compoſed of mixed bodies, although they differ widely in the ſeveral fundamentals of religion and government, and all of them from the true public intereſt; yet, whenever their leaders are taken into power, under an

ignorant, unactive, or ill-designing prince, will probably, by the assistance of time or force, become the majority, unless they be prevented by a steadiness, which there is little reason to hope; or by some revolution, which there is much more reason to fear. For, abuses in administration may last much longer than politicians seem to be aware of; especially where some bold steps are made to corrupt the very fountain of power and legislature: in which case, as it may happen in some states, the whole body of the people are drawn in, by their own supposed consent, to be their own enslavers; and where will they find a thread to wind themselves out of this labyrinth? or will they not rather wish to be governed by arbitrary power, after the manner of other nations? For, whoever considers the course of the Roman empire after Cæsar's usurpation, the long continuance of the Turkish government, or the destruction of the Gothic balance in most kingdoms of Europe, will easily see how controlable that maxim is, that *res nolunt diu malè administrari*: because, as corruptions are more natural to mankind, than perfections, so they are more likely to have a longer continuance. For, the vices of men, considered as individuals, are exactly the same when they are moulded into bodies; nor otherwise to be withheld in their effects, than by good fundamental laws; in which, when any great breaches are made, the consequence will be the same as in the life of a particular man; whose vices, are seldom known to end, but with himself.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE CONSEQUENCES HOPED AND FEARED FROM THE DEATH OF THE QUEEN.

AUGUST 9, 1714.

IN order to ſet in a clear light, what I have to ſay upon this ſubject, it will be convenient to examine the ſtate of the nation, with reference to the two contending parties; this cannot well be done, without ſome little retroſpection into the five laſt years of her late majeſty's reign.

I have it from unqueſtionable authority, that the ducheſs of Marlborough's favour began to decline very ſoon after the queen's acceſſion to the throne, and that the earl Godolphin's held not much above two years longer; although her majeſty (no ill concealer of her affections) did not think fit to deprive them of their power, until a long time after.

The duke of Marlborough, and the earl of Godolphin, having fallen early into the intereſts of the lower party, for certain reaſons not ſeaſonable

here to be mentioned, (but which may deſerve a place in the hiſtory of that reign) they made large ſteps that way upon the death of the prince of Denmark, taking ſeveral among the warmeſt leaders of that ſide, into the chief employments of the ſtate. Mr. Harley, then ſecretary of ſtate, who diſliked their proceedings, and had very near overthrown their whole ſcheme, was removed with the utmoſt indignation; and about the ſame time, Sir Simon Harcourt, and Mr. St. John, with ſome others, voluntarily gave up their employments.

But the queen, who had then a great eſteem for the perſon and abilities of Mr. Harley, (and in proportion of the other two, although at that time not equally known to her) was deprived of his ſervice with ſome regret; and upon that, and other motives well known at court, began to think herſelf hardly uſed; and ſeveral ſtories ran about, whether true or falſe, that her majeſty was not always treated with that duty ſhe might expect. Meantime the church-party were loud in their complaints; ſurmiſing, from the virulence of ſeveral pamphlets, from certain bills projected to be brought into parliament, from endeavours to repeal the ſacramental teſt, from the avowed principles and free ſpeeches of ſome perſons in power, and other jealouſies needleſs to repeat, that ill deſigns were forming againſt the religion eſtabliſhed. Theſe fears were all confirmed by the trial of Sacheverel; which drew the populace, as one man, into the party againſt the miniſtry and parliament.

The miniſtry were very ſuſpicious that the queen had ſtill a reſerve of favour for Mr. Harley, which appeared

appeared by a paſſage that happened ſome days after his removal: for the earl of Godolphin's coach and his happening to meet near Kenſington, the earl, a few hours after, reproached the queen, that ſhe privately admitted Mr. Harley, and was not, without ſome difficulty, undeceived by her majeſty's aſſeverations to the contrary.

Soon after the doctor's trial, this gentleman, by the queen's command, and the intervention of Mrs. Maſham, was brought up the back-ſtairs; and that princeſs, ſpirited by the addreſſes from all parts, which ſhewed the inclinations of her ſubjects to be very averſe from the proceedings in court and parliament, was reſolved to break the united power of the Marlborough and Godolphin families, and to begin this work by taking the diſpoſal of employments into her own hands: for which an opportunity happened by the death of the earl of Eſſex, lieutenant of the Tower; whoſe employment was given to the earl Rivers, to the great diſcontent of the duke of Marlborough, who intended it for the duke of Northumberland, then colonel of the Oxford regiment, to which the earl of Hertford was to ſucceed. Some time after, the chamberlain's ſtaff was diſpoſed of to the duke of Shrewſbury, in the abſence, and without the privity, of the earl of Godolphin. The earl of Sunderland's removal followed; and laſtly, that of the high treaſurer himſelf, whoſe office was put into commiſſion, whereof Mr. Harley (made at the ſame time chancellor of the exchequer) was one, I need ſay nothing of other re-

movals, which are well enough known and remembered: let it ſuffice that in eight or nine months time, the whole face of the court was altered, and very few friends of the former miniſtry left in any great ſtations there.

I have good reaſons to be aſſured, that when the queen began this change, ſhe had no intentions to carry it ſo far as the church-party expected, and have ſince been ſo impatient to ſee. For, although ſhe was a true profeſſor of the religion eſtabliſhed, yet the firſt motives to this alteration, did not ariſe from any dangers ſhe apprehended to that, or the government; but from a deſire to get out of the dominion of ſome, who, ſhe thought, had kept her too much and too long in pupilage. She was in her own nature extremely dilatory and timorous; yet, upon ſome occaſions, poſitive to a great degree. And when ſhe had got rid of thoſe who had, as ſhe thought, given her the moſt uneaſineſs, ſhe was inclined to ſtop, and entertain a fancy of acting upon a moderating ſcheme, whence it was very difficult to remove her. At the ſame time I muſt confeſs my belief, that this imagination was put into her head, and made uſe of as an encouragement to begin that work, after which, her adviſers might think it eaſier to prevail with her, to go as far as they thought fit. That theſe were her majeſty's diſpoſitions in that conjuncture, may be confirmed by many inſtances. In the very height of the change, ſhe appeared very loth to part with two great officers of ſtate of the other party: and

ſome, whoſe abſence the new miniſters moſt earneſtly wiſhed, held in for above two years after.

Mr. Harley, who acted as firſt miniſter before he had the ſtaff, as he was a lover of gentle meaſures, and inclined to procraſtination, ſo he could not, with any decency, preſs the queen too much againſt her nature; becauſe it would be like running upon the rock, where his predeceſſors had ſplit. But, violent humours running both in the kingdom and the new parliament, againſt the principles and perſons of the Low-church party, gave this miniſter a very difficult part to play. The warm members in both houſes, eſpecially among the commons, preſſed for a thorough change; and ſo did almoſt all the queen's new ſervants, eſpecially after Mr. Harley was made an earl and high treaſurer.—He could not, in good policy, own his want of power, nor fling the blame upon his miſtreſs. And as too much ſecrecy was one of his faults, he would often, upon theſe occaſions, keep his neareſt friends in the dark. The truth is, he had likewiſe other views, which were better ſuited to the maxims of ſtate in general, than to that ſituation of affairs. By leaving many employments in the hands of the diſcontented party, he fell in with the queen's humour; he hoped to acquire the reputation of lenity; and kept a great number of expectants in order, who had liberty to hope, while any thing remained undiſpoſed of. He ſeemed alſo to think, as other miniſters have done, that ſince factions are neceſſary in ſuch a government as

ours, it would be prudent not altogether to lay the preſent one proſtrate, leſt another more plauſible, and therefore not * eaſy ſo to grapple with, might ariſe in its ſtead.

However, it is certain that a great part of the load he bore, was unjuſtly laid on him. He had no favourites among the Whig party, whom he kept in upon the ſcore of old friendſhip or acquaintance; and he was a greater object of their hatred, than all the reſt of the miniſtry together.

* This ſhould be—'not ſo eaſily to be grappled with,' &c.

A

PREFACE

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND

Dr. BURNET, Biſhop of SARUM's

INTRODUCTION

TO THE THIRD VOLUME OF THE

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Spargere voces
In vulgum ambiguas, & quærere conſcius arma.

Written in the Year 1712.

TO THE

BOOKSELLER.

Mr. MORPHEW,

YOUR care in putting an advertiſement in the Examiner, has been of very great uſe to me. I now ſend you my preface to the Biſhop of Sarum's Introduction to his third volume, which I deſire you to print in ſuch a form, as, in the bookſeller's phraſe, will make a ſixpenny touch; hoping it will give ſuch a public notice of my deſign, that it may come into the hands of thoſe who perhaps look not into the Biſhop's Introduction *. I deſire you will prefix to this a paſſage out of Virgil, which does ſo perfectly agree with my preſent thoughts of his lordſhip, that I cannot expreſs them better, nor more truly, than thoſe words do.

I am,

SIR,

Your humble Servant.

* The biſhop's Introduction is prefaced with a letter to his Bookſeller, of which this is a burleſque.

A

PREFACE

TO THE BISHOP OF SARUM's

INTRODUCTION, &c.

THIS way of publiſhing introductions to books, that are God knows when to come out, is either wholly new, or ſo long unpractiſed, that my ſmall reading cannot trace it. However, we are to ſuppoſe that a perſon of his lordſhip's great age and experience, would hardly act ſuch a piece of ſingularity, without ſome extraordinary motives. I cannot but obſerve, that his fellow-labourer, the author of the paper called the Engliſhman *, ſeems, in ſome of his late performances, to have almoſt tranſcribed the notions of the biſhop: theſe notions I take to have been dictated by the ſame maſters, leaving to each writer that peculiar manner of expreſſing himſelf, which the poverty of our language forces me to call their ſtyle. When the Guardian changed his title, and profeſſed to engage in faction, I was ſure the word was given; that grand preparations were making

* Mr. Steele.

againſt

againſt next ſeſſion; that all advantages would be taken of the little diſſenſions reported to be among thoſe in power; and that the Guardian would ſoon be ſeconded by ſome other piqueerers from the ſame camp. But I will confeſs my ſuſpicions did not carry me ſo far, as to conjecture, that this venerable champion would be in ſuch mighty haſte to come into the field, and ſerve in the quality of an *enfant perdu**, armed only with a pocket-piſtol, before his great blunderbuſs could be got ready, his old ruſty breaſt-plate ſcowered, and his cracked head-piece mended.

I was debating with myſelf, whether this hint of producing a ſmall pamphlet to give notice of a large folio, was not borrowed from the ceremonial in Spaniſh romances, where a dwarf is ſent out upon the battlements, to ſignify to all paſſengers what a mighty giant there is in the caſtle; or whether the biſhop copied this proceeding from the *fanfaronnade* † of Monſieur Bouffleurs, when the earl of Portland and that general had an interview. Several men were appointed, at certain periods, to ride in great haſte towards the Engliſh camp, and cry out, *Monſeigneur vient*, *monſeigneur vient* ‡: then ſmall parties advancing with the ſame ſpeed, and the ſame cry; and this foppery held for many hours, until the mareſchal himſelf arrived. So here the biſhop (as we find by his

* *Enfant perdu*, one of the forlorn hope; the forlorn hope is a number of men ſelected for any deſperate enterprize, or appointed for the firſt onſet in a battle.

† *Fanfaronnade*, vain oſtentation.

‡ My lord is coming, my lord is coming.

dedication

dedication to Mr. Churchill the bookſeller) has for a long time ſent warning of his arrival by adverti-ſements in gazettes; and now his introduction advances to tell us again, *Monſeigneur vient:* in the mean time we muſt gape, and wait, and gaze, the Lord knows how long, and keep our ſpirits in ſome reaſonable agitation, until his lordſhip's real ſelf ſhall think fit to appear, in the habit of a folio.

I have ſeen the ſame ſort of management at a puppet-ſhow. Some puppets of little or no conſequence appeared ſeveral times at the window, to allure the boys and the rabble: the trumpeter ſounded often, and the door-keeper cried a hundred times, until he was hoarſe, that they were juſt going to begin; yet, after all, we were forced ſometimes to wait an hour, before Punch himſelf in perſon made his entry.

But why this ceremony among old acquaintance? The world and he have long known one another: let him appoint his hour, and make his viſit, without troubling us all day with a ſucceſſion of meſſages from his lacquies and pages.

With ſubmiſſion, theſe little arts of getting off an edition, do ill become any author above the ſize of Marten the ſurgeon. My lord tells us, that *many thouſands of the two former parts of his hiſtory are in the kingdom*; and now he perpetually advertiſes in the gazette, that he intends to publiſh the third. This is exactly in the method and ſtyle of Marten: "the ſeventh edition (many thouſands of the "former editions having been ſold off in a ſmall "time)

« time) of Mr. Marten's book concerning ſecret « diſeaſes, &c."

Does his lordſhip intend to publiſh his great volume by ſubſcription, and is this introduction only by way of ſpecimen? I was inclined to think ſo, becauſe in the prefixed letter to Mr. Churchill, which introduces this Introduction, there are ſome dubious expreſſions: he ſays, *the advertiſements he publiſhed were in order to move people to furniſh him with materials, which might help him to finiſh his work with great advantage.* If he means half-a-guinea upon the ſubſcription, and the other half at the delivery, why does he not tell us ſo in plain terms?

I am wondering how it came to paſs, that this diminutive letter to Mr. Churchill, ſhould underſtand the buſineſs of introducing, better than the introduction itſelf; or why the biſhop did not take it into his head to ſend the former into the world, ſome months before the latter, which would have been a greater improvement upon the ſolemnity of the proceſſion?

Since I writ theſe laſt lines, I have peruſed the whole pamphlet, (which I had only dipt in before) and found I have been hunting upon a wrong ſcent; for the author has, in ſeveral parts of his piece, diſcovered the true motives, which put him upon ſending it abroad at this juncture; I ſhall therefore conſider them as they come in my way.

My lord begins his Introduction with an account of the reaſons, why he was guilty of ſo many miſtakes in the firſt volume of his Hiſtory of the Reformation?

Reformation? his excuſes are juſt, rational, and extremely conſiſtent. He ſays, *he wrote in haſte*, which he confirms by adding, *that it lay a year after he wrote it before it was put into the preſs.* At the ſame time he mentioned a paſſage extremely to the honour of that pious and excellent prelate, archbiſhop Sancroft, which demonſtrates his grace to have been a perſon of great ſagacity, and almoſt a prophet. Doctor Burnet, then a private divine, *deſired admittance to the Cotton library, but was prevented* by the archbiſhop, who told Sir John Cotton, that the ſaid Doctor was no friend to the prerogative of the crown, or to the conſtitution of the kingdom.* This judgment was the more extraordinary, becauſe the doctor had, not long before, publiſhed a book in Scotland, with his name prefixed, which carries the regal prerogative higher

* It is ſomewhat remarkable to ſee the progreſs of this ſtory. In the firſt edition of this Introduction, it ſhould ſeem "he was pre-"vented by the archbiſhop," &c. When the Introduction was reprinted a year after with the Hiſtory, it ſtands: "A great prelate "had been before hand, and poſſeſſed him [Sir John Cotton] againſt "me—That unleſs the archbiſhop of Canterbury would recom-"mend me—he deſired to be excuſed—The biſhop of Worceſter "could not prevail on the archbiſhop to interpoſe." This is ſomewhat leſs than preventing: unleſs the archbiſhop be meant by the great prelate; which is not very probable, 1. Becauſe in the preface to this very third volume, p. 4. he ſays, "It was by arch-"biſhop Sancroft's order he had the free uſe of every thing that lay "in the Lambeth library." 2. Becauſe the author of *Speculum Sariſburianum*, p. 6. tells us, "His acceſs to the library was owing "ſolely to the recommendation of archbiſhop Sancroft, as I have "been informed (ſays the author) by ſome of the family." 3. Becauſe biſhop Burnet in his Hiſtory of his Own Times, vol. i. p. 396. ſays it was, "Dolben, biſhop of Rocheſter [at the inſtigation of "the duke of Lauderdale], that diverted Sir John Cotton from "ſuffering him to ſearch his library."

than

than any writer of the age: however, the good archbiſhop lived to ſee his opinion become univerſal in the kingdom.

The biſhop goes on, for many pages, with an account of certain facts relating to the publiſhing of his two former volumes of the Reformation; the great ſucceſs of that work, and the adverſaries who appeared againſt it. Theſe are matters out of the way of my reading; only I obſerve that poor Mr. Henry Wharton, who has deſerved ſo well of the commonwealth of learning, and who gave himſelf the trouble of detecting ſome hundreds of the biſhop's miſtakes, meets with very ill quarter from his lordſhip; upon which, I cannot avoid mentioning a peculiar method which this prelate takes to revenge himſelf upon thoſe who preſume to differ from him in print. The biſhop of Rocheſter* happened ſome years ago to be of this number. My lord of Sarum, in his reply, ventured to tell the world, that the gentleman who had writ againſt him, meaning Dr. Atterbury, was one upon whom he had conferred great obligations; which was a very generous Chriſtian contrivance of charging his adverſary with ingratitude. But it ſeems the truth happened to be on the other ſide, which the Doctor made appear in ſuch a manner as would have ſilenced his lordſhip for ever, if he had not been writing-proof. Poor Mr. Wharton, in his grave, is charged with the ſame accuſation, but with circumſtances the moſt aggravating that malice, and

* Dr. Atterbury.

ſomething elſe could invent: and which I will no more believe than five hundred paſſages in a certain book of travels *. See the character he gives of a divine and a ſcholar, who ſhortened his life in the ſervice of God and the church. *Mr. Wharton deſired me to intercede with Tillotſon for a prebend of Canterbury. I did ſo, but Wharton would not believe it; ſaid he would be revenged, and ſo writ againſt me. Soon after, he was convinced I had ſpoke for him; ſaid he was ſet on to do what he did, and if I would procure any thing for him, he would diſcover every thing to me.* What a ſpirit of candour, charity and good nature, generoſity and truth, ſhines through this ſtory, told of a moſt excellent and pious divine, twenty years after his death, without one ſingle voucher!

Come we now to the reaſons, which moved his lordſhip to ſet about this work at this time. *He could delay it no longer, becauſe the reaſons of his engaging in it at firſt, ſeemed to return upon him.* He was then frightened with *the danger of a popiſh ſucceſſor in view, and the dreadful apprehenſions of the power of France. England has forgot theſe dangers*, and yet is *nearer to them than ever*, and therefore he is reſolved to *awaken them* with his third volume; but, in the mean time, ſends this Introduction to let them know they are aſleep. He then goes on in deſcribing the condition of the kingdom, after ſuch a manner, as if deſtruction hung over us by a ſingle hair; as if the Pope,

* Burnet's Travels.

the

the Devil, the Pretender, and France, were juſt at our doors.

When the biſhop publiſhed his Hiſtory, there was a popiſh plot on foot: the duke of York, a known papiſt, was preſumptive heir to the crown: the houſe of commons would not hear of any expedient for ſecuring their religion under a popiſh prince, nor would the king, or lords, conſent to a bill of excluſion: the French king was in the height of his grandeur, and the vigour of his age. At this day the preſumptive heir, with that whole illuſtrious family, are proteſtants; the popiſh Pretender excluded for ever by ſeveral acts of parliament; and every perſon in the ſmalleſt employment, as well as the members of both houſes, obliged to abjure him. The French king is at the loweſt ebb of life; his armies have been conquered, and his towns won from him for ten years together; and his kingdom is in danger of being torn by diviſions during a long minority. Are theſe caſes parallel? or are we now in more danger of France and popery than we were thirty years ago? what can be the motive for advancing ſuch falſe, ſuch deteſtable aſſertions? what concluſions would his lordſhip draw from ſuch premiſes as theſe? if injurious appellations were of any advantage to a cauſe, (as the ſtyle of our adverſaries would make us believe) what appellations would thoſe deſerve, who thus endeavour to ſow the ſeeds of ſedition, and are impatient to ſee the fruits? *But*, ſaith he, *the deaf adder ſtoppeth her ears, let the charmer charm never ſo wiſely.* True my lord, there are indeed too

many adders in this nation's boſom; adders in all ſhapes, and in all habits, whom neither the queen nor parliament can charm to loyalty, truth, religion, or honour.

Among other inſtances produced by him of the diſmal condition we are in, he offers one which could not eaſily be gueſſed. It is this, *that the little factious pamphlets written about the end of king Charles II.'s reign lie dead in ſhops, are looked on as waſte paper, and turned to paſteboard.* How many are there of his lordſhip's writings, which could otherwiſe never have been of any real ſervice to the public? has he indeed ſo mean an opinion of our taſte, to ſend us at this time of day into all the corners of Holbourn, Duck-Lane, and Moorfields, in queſt after the factious traſh publiſhed in thoſe days by Julian Johnſon, Hickeringil, Dr. Oates, and himſelf?

His lordſhip taking it for a *poſtulatum*, that the queen and miniſtry, both houſes of parliament, and a vaſt majority of the landed gentlemen throughout England, are running headlong into popery, lays hold on the occaſion to deſcribe *the cruelties in queen Mary's reign: an inquiſition ſetting up faggots in Smithfield, and executions all over the kingdom. Here is that*, ſays he, *which thoſe that look towards a popiſh ſucceſſor, muſt look for.* And he inſinuates through his whole pamphlet, that all who are not of his party *look towards a popiſh ſucceſſor.* Theſe he divides into two parts, the *tory laity*, and the *tory clergy.* He tells the former: *although they have no religion at all, but reſolve to change with*

every

every wind and tide; yet they ought to have compaſſion on their countrymen and kindred. Then he applies himſelf to the tory clergy, aſſures them, that *the fires revived in Smithfield, and all over the nation, will have no amiable view, but leaſt of all to them; who, if they have any principles at all, muſt be turned out of their livings, leave their families, be hunted from place to place into parts beyond the ſeas, and meet with that contempt with which they treated foreigners, who took ſanctuary among us.*

This requires a recapitulation, with ſome remarks. Firſt, I do affirm, that in every hundred of profeſſed atheiſts, deiſts, and Socinians in the kingdom, ninety-nine at leaſt are ſtaunch thorough-paced whigs, entirely agreeing with his lordſhip in politicks and diſcipline; and therefore will venture all the fires of hell, rather than ſinge one hair of their beards in Smithfield. Secondly, I do likewiſe affirm, that thoſe whom we uſually underſtand by the appellation of tory or high-church clergy, were the greateſt ſticklers againſt the exorbitant proceedings of king James the Second, the beſt writers againſt popery, and the moſt exemplary ſufferers for the eſtabliſhed religion. Thirdly, I do pronounce it to be a moſt falſe and infamous ſcandal upon the nation in general, and on the clergy in particular, to reproach them for *treating foreigners with haughtineſs and contempt.* The French Hugonots are many thouſand witneſſes to the contrary; and I wiſh they deſerved the thouſandth part of the good treatment they have received.

Laſtly, I obſerve, that the author of a paper called the Engliſhman, has run into the ſame cant, gravely adviſing the whole body of the clergy not to bring in popery; becauſe that will put them under a neceſſity of parting with their wives, or loſing their livings.

The bulk of the kingdom, both clergy and laity, happen to differ extremely from this prelate, in many principles both of politicks and religion. Now I aſk, whether, if any man of them had ſigned his name to a ſyſtem of atheiſm, or popery, he could have argued with them otherwiſe than he does? or, if I ſhould write a grave letter to his lordſhip with the ſame advice, taking it for granted that he was half an atheiſt and half a papiſt, and conjuring him by all he held dear to have compaſſion upon all thoſe who believed a God; *not to revive the fires in Smithfield; that he muſt either forfeit his biſhoprick, or not marry a fourth wife*; I aſk, whether he would not think I intended him the higheſt injury and affront?

But as to the tory laity, he gives them up in a lump for abandoned atheiſts: they are a ſet of men ſo *impiouſly corrupted in the point of religion, that no ſcene of cruelty can fright them from leaping into it*, [popery] *and perhaps acting ſuch a part in it as may be aſſigned them.* He therefore deſpairs of influencing them by any topicks drawn from religion or compaſſion, and advances the conſideration of intereſt, as the only powerful argument to perſuade them againſt popery.

What

What he offers upon this head is ſo very amazing from a Chriſtian, a clergyman, and a prelate of the church of England, that I muſt, in my own imagination, ſtrip him of thoſe three capacities, and put him among the number of that ſet of men he mentions in the paragraph before; or elſe it will be impoſſible to ſhape out an anſwer.

His lordſhip, in order to diſſuade the tories from their deſign of bringing in popery, tells them, *how valuable a part of the whole ſoil of England the abby lands, the eſtates of the biſhops, of the cathedrals, and the tithes are:* how difficult ſuch a reſumption would be to many families; *yet all theſe muſt be thrown up; for ſacrilege, in the church of Rome, is a mortal ſin.* I deſire it may be obſerved, what a jumble here is made of eccleſiaſtical revenues, as if they were all upon the ſame foot, were alienated with equal juſtice, and the clergy had no more reaſon to complain of the one than the other; whereas the four branches mentioned by him are of very different conſideration. If I might venture to gueſs the opinion of the clergy upon this matter, I believe they could wiſh that ſome ſmall part of the abby lands had been applied to the augmentation of poor biſhopricks; and a very few acres to ſerve for glebes in thoſe pariſhes where there are none; after which, I think they would not repine that the laity ſhould poſſeſs the reſt. If the eſtates of ſome biſhops and cathedrals were exorbitant before the Reformation, I believe the preſent clergy's wiſhes reach no farther, than that ſome

reaſonable temper had been uſed, inſtead of paring them to the quick. But as to the tithes, without examining whether they be of divine inſtitution, I conceive there is hardly one of that ſacred order in England, and very few even among the laity who love the church, who will not allow the miſ-applying of thoſe revenues to ſecular perſons, to have been at firſt a moſt flagrant act of injuſtice and oppreſſion; although, at the ſame time, God forbid they ſhould be reſtored any other way than by gradual purchaſe, by the conſent of thoſe who are now the lawful poſſeſſors, or by the piety and generoſity of ſuch worthy ſpirits as this nation ſometimes produces. The biſhop knows very well, that the application of tithes to the maintenance of monaſteries, was a ſcandalous uſurpation, even in popiſh times: that the monks uſually ſent out ſome of their fraternity to ſupply the cures; and that when the monaſteries were granted away by Henry VIII., the pariſhes were left deſtitute, or very meanly provided, of any maintenance for a paſtor. So that in many places the whole eccleſiaſtical dues, even to mortuaries, Eaſter-offerings, and the like, are in lay hands, and the incumbent lies wholly at the mercy of his patron for his daily bread. By theſe means, there are ſeveral hundred pariſhes in England under twenty pounds a year, and many under ten. I take his lordſhip's biſhoprick to be worth near 2500 *l.* annual income; and I will engage, at half a year's warning, to find him above a hundred beneficed clergymen, who have not ſo much among them

all

all to ſupport themſelves and their families: moſt of them orthodox, of good life and converſation; as loth to ſee the fires kindled in Smithfield as his lordſhip; and at leaſt as ready to face them under a popiſh perſecution. But nothing is ſo hard for thoſe who abound in riches, as to conceive how others can be in want. How can the neighbouring vicar feel cold or hunger, while my lord is ſeated by a good fire, in the warmeſt room of his palace, with a dozen diſhes before him? I remember one other prelate much of the ſame ſtamp, who, when his clergy would mention their wiſhes that ſome act of parliament might be thought of for the good of the church, would ſay, "Gentlemen, we are very well as we are; if they would "let us alone, we ſhould aſk no more."

Sacrilege, (ſays my lord) *in the church of Rome, is a mortal ſin;* and is it only ſo in the church of Rome? or is it but a venial ſin in the church of England? Our litany calls fornication a deadly ſin; and I would appeal to his lordſhip for fifty years paſt, whether he thought that or ſacrilege the deadlieſt? To make light of ſuch a ſin, at the ſame moment that he is frightening us from an idolatrous religion, ſhould ſeem not very conſiſtent. "Thou that ſayeſt a man ſhould not commit adul-"tery, doſt thou commit adultery? Thou that ab-"horreſt idols, doſt thou commit ſacrilege?"

To ſmooth the way for the return of popery in queen Mary's time, the grantees were confirmed by the pope in the poſſeſſion of the abby lands. But the biſhop tells us, that *this confirmation was fraudulent*

fraudulent and invalid. I ſhall believe it to be ſo, although I happen to read it in his lordſhip's Hiſtory. But he adds, *that although the confirmation had been good, the prieſts would have got their land again by theſe two methods: firſt, the ſtatute of mortmain was repealed for twenty years; in which time, no doubt, they reckoned they would recover the beſt part of what they had loſt; beſides, that engaging the clergy to renew no leaſes was a thing entirely in their own power; and this in forty years time would raiſe their revenues to be about ten times their preſent value.* Theſe two expedients for increaſing the revenues of the church, he repreſents as pernicious deſigns, fit only to be practiſed in times of popery, and ſuch as the laity ought never to conſent to: whence, and from what he ſaid before about tithes, his lordſhip has freely declared his opinion, that the clergy are rich enough, and that the leaſt addition to their ſubſiſtence would be a ſtep towards popery. Now it happens, that the two only methods, which could be thought on, with any probability of ſucceſs, towards ſome reaſonable augmentation of eccleſiaſtical revenues, are here rejected by a biſhop, as a means for introducing popery, and the nation publickly warned againſt them: whereas the continuance of the ſtatute of mortmain in full force, after the church had been ſo terribly ſtripped, appeared to her majeſty and the kingdom a very unneceſſary hardſhip; upon which account it was at ſeveral times relaxed by the legiſlature. Now, as the relaxation of that ſtatute is manifeſtly one of the reaſons

which

which gives the biſhop thoſe terrible apprehenſions of popery coming on us; ſo, I conceive, another ground of his fears, is, the remiſſion of the firſt-fruits and tenths. But where the inclination to popery lay, whether in her majeſty who propoſed this benefaction, the parliament which confirmed, or the clergy who accepted it, his lordſhip has not thought fit to determine.

The other popiſh expedient for augmenting church-revenues, is, *engaging the clergy to renew no leaſes*. Several of the moſt eminent clergymen have aſſured me, that nothing has been more wiſhed for by good men, than a law to prevent biſhops, at leaſt, from ſetting leaſes for lives. I could name ten biſhopricks in England, whoſe revenues one with another do not amount to 600 pounds a year for each: and if his lordſhip's, for inſtance, would be above ten times the value when the lives are expired, I ſhould think the overplus would not be ill diſpoſed, towards an augmentation of ſuch as are now ſhamefully poor. But I do aſſert, that ſuch an expedient was not always thought popiſh and dangerous by this right reverend Hiſtorian. I have had the honour formerly to converſe with him; and he has told me ſeveral years ago, that he lamented extremely the power which biſhops had of letting leaſes for lives; whereby, as he ſaid, they were utterly deprived of raiſing their revenues, whatever alterations might happen in the value of money by length of time. I think the reproach of betraying private converſation, will not upon this account be laid to my charge.

charge. Neither do I believe he would have changed his opinion upon any ſcore, but to take up another more agreeable to the maxims of his party, *that the leaſt addition of property to the church, is one ſtep towards popery.*

The biſhop goes on with much earneſtneſs and prolixity to prove, that the pope's confirmation of the church lands to thoſe who held them by king Henry's donation, was null and fraudulent; which is a point, that I believe no proteſtant in England would give three-pence to have his choice whether it ſhould be true or falſe: it might indeed ſerve as a paſſage in his Hiſtory, among a thouſand other inſtances, to detect the knavery of the court of Rome: but I aſk, where could be the uſe of it in this Introduction? or why all this haſte in publiſhing it at this juncture; and ſo out of all method, apart, and before the work itſelf? He gives his reaſons in very plain terms: we are now, it ſeems, *in more danger of popery than towards the end of king Charles the Second's reign. That ſet of men* (the tories) *is ſo impiouſly corrupted in the point of religion, that no ſcene of cruelty can frighten them from leaping into it, and perhaps from acting ſuch a part in it as may be aſſigned them.* He doubts whether the high-church clergy have any principles; and therefore will be ready to turn off their wives, and look on the fires kindled in Smithfield as an amiable view. Theſe are the facts he all along takes for granted, and argues accordingly. Therefore, in deſpair of diſſuading the nobility and gentry of the land from introducing popery by

any motives of honour, religion, alliance, or mercy, he aſſures them, *That the pope has not duly confirmed their tithes to the church lands in their poſſeſſion;* which therefore muſt be infallibly reſtored, as ſoon as that religion is eſtabliſhed among us.

Thus, in his lordſhip's opinion, there is nothing wanting to make the majority of the kingdom, both for number, quality, and poſſeſſion, immediately embrace popery, except a *firm bull from the pope* to ſecure the abby and other church lands and tithes to the preſent proprietors and their heirs: if this only difficulty could now be adjuſted, the Pretender would be reſtored next ſeſſion, the two houſes reconciled to the church of Rome againſt Eaſter term, and the fires lighted in Smithfield by Midſummer. Such horrible calumnies againſt a nation are not the leſs injurious to decency, goodnature, truth, honour, and religion, becauſe they may be vented with ſafety; and I will appeal to any reader of common underſtanding, whether this be not the moſt natural and neceſſary deduction from the paſſages I have cited and referred to.

Yet all this is but friendly dealing, in compariſon with what he affords the clergy upon the ſame article. He ſuppoſes that whole reverend body, who differ from him in principles of church or ſtate, ſo far from diſliking popery upon the abovementioned motives of perjury, *quitting their wives, or burning their relations*; that the hopes of *enjoying the abby lands* would ſoon bear down all ſuch conſiderations, and be an effectual incitement to

their

their perverſion: and ſo he goes gravely on, as with the only argument which he thinks can have any force, to aſſure them that the *parochial prieſts in Roman catholic countries are much poorer than in ours; the ſeveral orders of regulars, and the magnificence of their church, devouring all their treaſure*; and by conſequence, *their hopes are vain of expecting to be richer after the introduction of popery.*

But, after all, his lordſhip deſpairs that even this argument will have any force with our abominable clergy, becauſe, to uſe his own words, *They are an inſenſible and degenerate race, who are thinking of nothing but their preſent advantages; and, ſo that they may now ſupport a luxurious and brutal courſe of irregular and voluptuous practices, they are eaſily hired to betray their religion, to ſell their country, and give up that liberty and thoſe properties, which are the preſent felicities and glories of this nation.*

He ſeems to reckon all theſe evils as matters fully determined on, and therefore falls into the laſt uſual form of deſpair, by threatening the authors of theſe miſeries with *laſting infamy, and the curſes of poſterity upon perfidious betrayers of their truſt.*

Let me turn this paragraph into vulgar language, for the uſe of the poor; and ſtrictly adhere to the ſenſe of the words. I believe it may be faithfully tranſlated in the following manner: "The bulk of the clergy, and one third of the "biſhops, are ſtupid ſons of whores, who think "of nothing but getting money as ſoon as they "can; if they may but procure enough to ſupply "them in gluttony, drunkenneſs, and whoring,

"they

" they are ready to turn traitors to God and their " country, and make their fellow-ſubjects ſlaves." The reſt of the period about threatening infamy, and the curſes of poſterity upon ſuch dogs and villains, may ſtand as it does in the biſhop's own phraſe; and ſo make the paragraph all of a piece.

I will engage, on the other ſide, to paraphraſe all the rogues and raſcals in the Engliſhman, ſo as to bring them up exactly to his lordſhip's ſtyle: but, for my own part, I much prefer the plain Billingſgate way of calling names, becauſe it expreſſes our meaning full as well, and would ſave abundance of time, which is loſt by circumlocution: ſo, for inſtance, John Dunton, who is retained on the ſame ſide with the biſhop, calls my lord Treaſurer and lord Bolingbroke traitors, whore-mongers, and jacobites; which three words coſt our right reverend author thrice as many lines to define them; and I hope his lordſhip does not think there is any difference in point of morality, whether a man calls me traitor in one word, or ſays, I am one *hired to betray my religion, and ſell my country.*

I am not ſurprized to ſee the biſhop mention with contempt all convocations of the clergy; for Toland, Aſgill, Monmouth, Collins, Tindal, and others of the fraternity, talk the very ſame language. His lordſhip confeſſes he is not inclined *to expect much from the aſſemblies of clergymen.* There lies the misfortune; for if he, and ſome more of his order, would correct their inclinations, a great deal of good might be expected from ſuch aſſemblies; as much as they are now cramped by

that

that ſubmiſſion, which a corrupt clergy brought upon their innocent ſucceſſors. He will not deny that his copiouſneſs in theſe matters is, in his own opinion, one of the meaneſt parts of his new work. I will agree with him, unleſs he happens to be more copious in any thing elſe. However, it is not eaſy to conceive, why he ſhould be ſo copious upon a ſubject he ſo much deſpiſes, unleſs it were to gratify his talent of railing at the clergy, in the number of whom he diſdains to be reckoned, becauſe he is a biſhop; for it is a ſtyle I obſerved ſome prelates have fallen into of late years, to talk of clergymen, as if themſelves were not of the number. You will read in many of their ſpeeches at Dr. Sacheverel's trial, expreſſions to this or the like effect: " my lords, if clergymen be ſuffered," &c. wherein they ſeem to have reaſon; and I am pretty confident, that a great majority of the clergy were heartily inclined to diſown any relation they had to the managers in lawn. However, it was a confounding argument againſt preſbytery, that thoſe prelates who are moſt ſuſpected to lean that way, treated their inferior brethren with haughtineſs, rigour, and contempt; although, to ſay the truth, nothing better could be hoped for; becauſe I believe it may paſs for a univerſal rule, that in every dioceſe governed by biſhops of the whig ſpecies, the clergy (eſpecially the poorer ſort) are under double diſcipline; and the laity left to themſelves. The opinion of Sir Thomas Moore, which he produces to prove the ill conſequences, or inſignificancy of convocations, advances no ſuch thing;

thing; but ſays, "If the clergy aſſembled often, "and might act as other aſſemblies of clergy in "Chriſtendom, much good might have come; "but the misfortune lay in their long diſuſe, and "that in his own, and a good part of his father's "time, they never came together, except at the "command of the prince."

I ſuppoſe his lordſhip thinks there is ſome original impediment in the ſtudy of divinity, or ſecret incapacity in a gown and caſſock without lawn, which diſqualifies all inferior clergymen, from debating upon ſubjects of doctrine or diſcipline in the church. It is a famous ſaying of his, *that he looks upon every layman, to be an honeſt man, until he is by experience convinced to the contrary; and on every clergyman, as a knave, until he finds him to be an honeſt man.* What opinion then muſt we have of a lower houſe of convocation; where, I am confident, he will hardly find three perſons that ever convinced him of their honeſty, or will ever be at the pains to do it? Nay, I am afraid they would think ſuch a conviction might be no very advantageous bargain, to gain the character of an honeſt man with his lordſhip, and loſe it with the reſt of world.

In the famous concordate that was made between Francis I. of France, and pope Leo X., the biſhop tells us, that *the king and pope came to a bargain, by which they divided the liberties of the Gallican church between them, and indeed quite enſlaved it.* He intends in the third part of his Hiſtory, which he is going to publiſh, *to open this whole matter*

to the world. In the mean time he mentions ſome ill conſequences to the Gallican church from that concordate, which are worthy to be obſerved: *the church of France became a ſlave; and this change in their conſtitution put an end not only to national, but even to provincial ſynods in that kingdom. The aſſemblies of the clergy there meet now only to give ſubſidies*, &c. and he ſays, *our nation may ſee by that proceeding, what it is to deliver up the eſſential liberties of a free conſtitution to a court.*

All I can gather from this matter is, that our king Henry made a better bargain than his cotemporary Francis, who divided the liberties of the church between himſelf and the pope, while the king of England ſeized them all to himſelf. But how comes he to number the want of ſynods in the Gallican church among the grievances of that concordate, and as a mark of their ſlavery, ſince he reckons all convocations of the clergy in England to be uſeleſs and dangerous? Or what difference in point of liberty was there, between the Gallican church under Francis, and the Engliſh under Harry? For the latter was as much a papiſt as the former, unleſs in the point of obedience to the ſee of Rome; and in every quality of a good man, or a good prince, (except perſonal courage, wherein both were equal) the French monarch had the advantage, by as many degrees as is poſſible for one man to have over another.

Henry VIII. had no manner of intention to change religion in his kingdom; he continued to perſecute

perſecute and burn proteſtants, after he had caſt off the pope's ſupremacy; and I ſuppoſe this ſeizure of eccleſiaſtical revenues (which Francis never attempted) cannot be reckoned as a mark of the church's liberty. By the quotation the biſhop ſets down to ſhew the ſlavery of the French church, he repreſents it as a grievance, that *biſhops are not now elected there as formerly, but wholly appointed by the prince; and that thoſe made by the court, have been ordinarily the chief advancers of ſchiſms, hereſies, and oppreſſions of the church.* He cites another paſſage from a Greek writer, and plainly inſinuates, that it is juſtly applicable to her majeſty's reign: *princes chooſe ſuch men to that charge* (of a biſhop) *who may be their ſlaves, and in all things obſequious to what they preſcribe, and may lie at their feet, and have not ſo much as a thought contrary to their commands.*

Theſe are very ſingular paſſages for his lordſhip to ſet down, in order to ſhew the diſmal conſequences of the French concordate, by the ſlavery of the Gallican church, compared with the freedom of ours. I ſhall not enter into a long diſpute, whether it were better for religion, that biſhops ſhould be choſen by the clergy, or people, or both together: I believe our author would give his vote for the ſecond, (which however would not have been of much advantage to himſelf, and ſome others that I could name) but I aſk, whether biſhops are any more elected in England than in France? And the want of ſynods are, in his own opinion, rather a bleſſing than a grievance, unleſs he will affirm

that more good can be expected from a popiſh ſynod, than an Engliſh convocation. Did the French clergy ever receive a greater blow to their liberties, than the ſubmiſſion made to Henry the Eighth; or ſo great a one, as the ſeizure of their lands? The Reformation owed nothing to the good intentions of king Henry: he was only an inſtrument of it (as the logicians ſpeak) by accident; nor does he appear, throughout his whole reign, to have had any other views than thoſe of gratifying his inſatiable love of power, cruelty, oppreſſion, and other irregular appetites. But this kingdom, as well as many other parts of Europe, was, at that time, generally weary of the corruptions and impoſitions of the Roman court and church; and diſpoſed to receive thoſe doctrines which Luther and his followers had univerſally ſpread. Cranmer the archbiſhop, Cromwell, and others of the court, did ſecretly embrace the Reformation; and the king's abrogating the pope's ſupremacy, made the people in general run into the new doctrine with greater freedom, becauſe they hoped to be ſupported in it by the authority and example of their prince; who diſappointed them ſo far, that he made no other ſtep, than rejecting the pope's ſupremacy, as a clog upon his own power and paſſions; but retained every corruption beſide, and became a cruel perſecutor, as well of thoſe who denied his own ſupremacy, as of all others who profeſſed any proteſtant doctrine. Neither has any thing diſguſted me more in reading the hiſtories of thoſe times, than to ſee one of the worſt princes of

any

any age or country, celebrated as an inſtrument in that glorious work of the Reformation.

The biſhop, having gone over all the matters that properly fall within his Introduction, proceeds to expoſtulate with ſeveral ſorts of people: firſt, with proteſtants who are no Chriſtians, ſuch as atheiſts, deiſts, freethinkers, and the like enemies to Chriſtianity: but theſe he treats with the tenderneſs of a friend, becauſe they are all of them of ſound whig principles in church and ſtate. However to do him juſtice, he lightly touches ſome old topicks for the truth of the goſpel: and concludes, by *wiſhing that the freethinkers would conſider well, if* (Anglice, whether) *they think it poſſible to bring a nation to be without any religion at all; and what the conſequences of that may prove;* and in caſe they allow the negative, he gives it clearly for Chriſtianity.

Secondly, he applies himſelf (if I take his meaning right) to Chriſtian papiſts, *who have a taſte of liberty*; and deſires them to *compare the abſurdity of their own religion, with the reaſonableneſs of the reformed:* againſt which, as good luck would have it, I have nothing to object.

Thirdly, he is ſomewhat rough againſt his own party, *who, having taſted the ſweets of proteſtant liberty, can look back ſo tamely on popery coming on them*; it looks as if they were bewitched, or that the devil were in them, to be ſo negligent. *It is not enough that they reſolve not to turn papiſts themſelves; they ought to awaken all about them, even the moſt ignorant and ſtupid, to apprehend their dan-*

ger, and to exert themſelves with their utmoſt induſtry to guard againſt it, and to reſiſt it. If, after all their endeavours to prevent it, the corruption of the age, and the art and power of our enemies, prove too hard for us; then, and not until then, we muſt ſubmit to the will of God, and be ſilent; and prepare ourſelves for all the extremity of ſuffering and of miſery, with a great deal more of the ſame ſtrain.

With due ſubmiſſion to the profound ſagacity of this prelate, who can ſmell popery at five hundred miles diſtance, better than fanaticiſm juſt under his noſe, I take leave to tell him, that this reproof to his friends for want of zeal and clamour againſt popery, ſlavery, and the Pretender, is what they have not deſerved. Are the pamphlets and papers daily publiſhed by the ſublime authors of his party, full of any thing elſe? are not the queen, the miniſters, the majority of lords and commons, loudly taxed in print, with this charge againſt them at full length? is it not the perpetual echo of every whig coffee-houſe and club? have they not quartered popery and the Pretender upon the peace and treaty of commerce; upon the poſſeſſing, and quitting, and keeping, and demoliſhing of Dunkirk? have they not clamoured, becauſe the Pretender continued in France, and becauſe he left it? have they not reported that the town ſwarmed with many thouſand papiſts; when, upon ſearch, there were never found ſo few of that religion in it before? if a clergyman preaches obedience to the higher powers, is he not immediately traduced as a papiſt? can mortal man do more? To deal plainly, my lord,

your

your friends are not ſtrong enough yet to make an inſurrection, and it is unreaſonable to expect one from them, until their neighbours be ready.

My lord, I have a little ſerioufneſs at heart upon this point, where your lordſhip affects to ſhew ſo much. When you can prove, that one ſingle word has ever dropt from any miniſter of ſtate, in publick or private, in favour of the Pretender, or his cauſe; when you can make it appear that in the courſe of this adminiſtration, ſince the queen thought fit to change her ſervants, there has one ſtep been made towards weakening the Hanover title, or giving the leaſt countenance to any other whatſoever; then, and not until then, go dry your chaff and ſtubble, give fire to the zeal of your faction, and reproach them with lukewarmneſs.

Fourthly, the biſhop applies himſelf to the tories in general; taking it for granted, after his charitable manner, that they are all ready prepared to introduce popery. He puts an excuſe into their mouths, by which they would endeavour to juſtify their change of religion: *popery is not what it was before the Reformation: things are now much mended, and farther corrections might be expected, if we would enter into a treaty with them: in particular, they ſee the error of proceeding ſeverely with hereticks; ſo that there is no reaſon to apprehend the returns of ſuch cruelties, as were practiſed an age and a half ago.*

This he aſſures us is a plea offered by the tories in defence of themſelves, for going about at this juncture to eſtabliſh the popiſh religion among us;

what argument does he bring to prove the fact itſelf?

Quibus indiciis, quo teſte, probavit?
Nil horum: verboſa et grandis epiſtola venit.

Nothing but this tedious Introduction, wherein he ſuppoſes it all along as a thing granted. That there might be a perfect union in the whole Chriſtian church, is a bleſſing which every good man wiſhes, but no reaſonable man can hope. That the more polite Roman catholicks have, in ſeveral places, given up ſome of their ſuperſtitious fopperies, particularly concerning legends, relicks, and the like, is what no body denies. But the material points in difference between us and them, are univerſally retained and aſſerted, in all their controverſial writings. And if his lordſhip really thinks that every man who differs from him, under the name of a tory, in ſome church and ſtate opinions, is ready to believe tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, the infallibility of pope or councils, to worſhip ſaints and angels, and the like; I can only pray God to enlighten his underſtanding, or graft in his heart the firſt principles of charity; a virtue which ſome people ought not by any means wholly to renounce, becauſe it covers a multitude of ſins.

Fifthly, the biſhop applies himſelf to his own party in both houſes of parliament, whom he exhorts to *guard their religion and liberty againſt all danger, at what diſtance ſoever it may appear. If they are abſent and remiſs on critical occaſions;* that is to ſay, if they do not attend cloſe next ſeſſions,

to

to vote upon all occaſions whatever, againſt the proceedings of the queen and her miniſtry, *or if any views of advantage to themſelves prevail on them:* in other words, if any of them vote for the bill of commerce, in hopes of a place or a penſion, a title, or a garter; *God may work a deliverance for us another way*, (that is to ſay, by inviting the Dutch) *but they and their families, i. e.* thoſe who are negligent or revolters, *ſhall periſh*; by which is meant they ſhall be hanged, as well as the preſent miniſtry and their abettors, as ſoon as we recover our power; *becauſe they let in idolatry, ſuperſtition and tyranny*; becauſe they ſtood by and ſuffered the peace to be made, the bill of commerce to paſs, and Dunkirk to lie undemoliſhed longer than we expected, without raiſing a rebellion.

His laſt application is to the tory clergy, a parcel of *blind, ignorant, dumb, ſleeping, greedy, drunken dogs.* A pretty artful epiſcopal method is this, of calling his brethren as many injurious names as he pleaſes. It is but quoting a text of ſcripture, where the characters of evil men are deſcribed, and the thing is done; and at the ſame time the appearances of piety and devotion preſerved. I would engage, with the help of a good concordance, and the liberty of perverting holy writ, to find out as many injurious appellations, as the Engliſhman throws out in any of his politic papers, and apply them to thoſe perſons *who call good evil, and evil good;* to thoſe who cry without cauſe, *Every man to his tent, O Iſrael! and to thoſe who curſe the queen in their hearts!*

Theſe

Theſe decent words, he tells us, make up a *lively deſcription of ſuch paſtors as will not ſtudy controverſy, nor know the depths of Satan.* He means, I ſuppoſe, the controverſy between us and the papiſts; for as to the freethinkers and diſſenters of every denomination, they are ſome of the beſt friends to the cauſe. Now I have been told, there is a body of that kind of controverſy publiſhed by the London divines, which is not to be matched in the world. I believe likewiſe, there is a good number of the clergy at preſent thoroughly verſed in that ſtudy; after which, I cannot but give my judgment, that it would be a very idle thing for paſtors in general to buſy themſelves much in diſputes againſt popery; it being a dry heavy employment of the mind at beſt, eſpecially when (God be thanked) there is ſo little occaſion for it, in the generality of pariſhes throughout the kingdom, and muſt be daily leſs and leſs, by the juſt ſeverity of the laws, and the utter averſion of our people from that idolatrous ſuperſtition.

If I might be ſo bold as to name thoſe who have the honour to be of his lordſhip's party, I would venture to tell him, that paſtors have much more occaſion to ſtudy controverſies againſt the ſeveral claſſes of freethinkers and diſſenters: the former (I beg his lordſhip's pardon for ſaying ſo) being a little worſe than papiſts, and both of them more dangerous at preſent to our conſtitution both in church and ſtate. Not that I think preſbytery ſo corrupt a ſyſtem of Chriſtian religion as popery; I believe it is not above one third as bad: but I think the preſbyterians,

preſbyterians, and their clans of other fanaticks, or freethinkers and atheiſts that dangle after them, are as well inclined to pull down the preſent eſtabliſhment of monarchy and religion, as any ſet of papiſts in Chriſtendom; and therefore, that our danger, as things now ſtand, is infinitely greater from our proteſtant enemies; becauſe they are much more able to ruin us, and full as willing. There is no doubt but that preſbytery and a commonwealth, are leſs formidable evils than popery, ſlavery, and the Pretender; for, if the fanaticks were in power, I ſhould be in more apprehenſion of being ſtarved, than burned. But, there are probably in England forty diſſenters of all kinds, including their brethren the freethinkers, for one papiſt; and allowing one papiſt to be as terrible as three diſſenters, it will appear by arithmetick, that we are thirteen times and one third, more in danger of being ruined by the latter, than the former.

The other qualification neceſſary for all paſtors, if they will not be *blind*, *ignorant*, *greedy*, *drunken dogs*, &c. is *to know the depths of Satan*. This is harder than the former; that a poor gentleman ought not to be parſon, vicar, or curate of a pariſh, except he be cunninger than the devil. I am afraid it will be difficult to remedy this defect, for one manifeſt reaſon, becauſe whoever had only half the cunning of the devil, would never take up with a vicarage of ten pounds a year *to live on at his eaſe*, as my lord expreſſes it; but ſeek out for ſome better livelihood. His lordſhip is of a nation

nation very much diſtinguiſhed for that quality of cunning, (although they have a great many better) and I think he was never accuſed for wanting his ſhare. However, upon a trial of ſkill, I would venture to lay ſix to four on the devil's ſide, who muſt be allowed to be at leaſt the older practitioner. Telling truth ſhames him, and reſiſtance makes him fly; but to attempt outwitting him, is to fight him at his own weapon, and conſequently no cunning at all. Another thing I would obſerve is, that a man may be *in the depths of Satan*, without knowing them all; and ſuch a man may be ſo far in Satan's depths, as to be out of his own. One of the depths of Satan is, to counterfeit an angel of light. Another, I believe, is, to ſtir up the people againſt their governors by falſe ſuggeſtions of danger. A third is, to be a prompter to falſe brethren, and to ſend wolves about in ſheep's cloathing. Sometimes he ſends Jeſuits about England in the habit and cant of fanaticks; at other times, he has fanatick miſſionaries in the habits of ——. I ſhall mention but one more of Satan's depths; for I confeſs I know not the hundredth part of them; and that is, to employ his emiſſaries in crying out againſt remote imaginary dangers, by which we may be taken off from defending ourſelves againſt thoſe, which are really juſt at our elbows.

But his lordſhip draws towards a concluſion, and bids us *look about, to conſider the danger we are in before it is too late;* for he aſſures us, we are already *going into ſome of the worſt parts of popery*; like the man, who was ſo much in haſte for his

new

new coat, that he put it on the wrong ſide out. *Auricular confeſſion, prieſtly abſolution, and the ſacrifice of the maſs*, have made great progreſs in England, and no body has obſerved it: ſeveral other *popiſh points are carried higher with us, than by the prieſts themſelves:* and ſomebody, it ſeems, had the *impudence to propoſe a union with the Gallican church.* I have indeed heard that Mr. Leſly publiſhed a diſcourſe to that purpoſe, which I have never ſeen; nor do I perceive the evil in propoſing a union between any two churches in Chriſtendom. Without doubt Mr. Leſly is moſt unhappily miſled in his politicks; but if he be the author of the late * tract againſt popery, he has given the world ſuch a proof of his ſoundneſs in religion, as many a biſhop ought to be proud of. I never ſaw the gentleman in my life: I know he is the ſon of a great and excellent prelate, who, upon ſeveral accounts, was one of the moſt extraordinary men of his age. Mr. Leſly has written many uſeful diſcourſes upon ſeveral ſubjects, and has ſo well deſerved of the Chriſtian religion, and the church of England in particular, that to accuſe him of *impudence for propoſing a union* in two very different faiths, is a ſtyle which I hope few will imitate. I deteſt Mr. Leſly's political principles, as much as his lordſhip can do, for his heart; but I verily believe he acts from a miſtaken conſcience, and therefore I diſtinguiſh between the principles and the perſon. However it is ſome mortification to me,

* The Caſe ſtated.

when

when I ſee an avowed nonjuror, contribute more to the confounding of popery, than could ever be done by a hundred thouſand ſuch Introductions as this.

His lordſhip ends with diſcovering a ſmall ray of comfort. *God be thanked, there are many among us that ſtand upon the watch-tower, and that give faithful warning; that ſtand in the breach, and make themſelves a wall for their church and country; that cry to God day and night, and lie in the duſt mourning before him, to avert thoſe judgments that ſeem to haſten towards us. They ſearch into the myſtery of iniquity that is working among us, and acquaint themſelves with that maſs of corruption that is in popery.* He prays, *That the number of theſe may increaſe, and that he may be of that number, ready either to die in peace, or to ſeal that doctrine he has been preaching above fifty years, with his blood.* This being his laſt paragraph, I have made bold to tranſcribe the moſt important parts of it. His deſign is to end after the manner of orators, with leaving the ſtrongeſt impreſſion poſſible upon the minds of his hearers. A great breach is made, *the myſtery of popiſh iniquity is working among us*; may God avert thoſe *judgments that are haſtening towards us*; I am an old man, *a preacher above fifty years*, and I now expect and am ready to die a martyr for the doctrines I have preached. What an amiable idea does he here leave upon our minds, of her majeſty, and her government! He has been poring ſo long upon Fox's book of martyrs, that he imagines himſelf living in the reign of queen Mary,

and is reſolved to ſet up for a knight errant againſt popery. Upon the ſuppoſition of his being in earneſt, (which I am ſure he is not) it would require but a very little more heat of imagination, to make a hiſtory of ſuch a knight's adventures. What would he ſay to behold the fires kindled in Smithfield, and all over the town, on the ſeventeenth of November; to behold the pope borne in triumph on the ſhoulders of the people, with a cardinal on the one ſide, and the Pretender on the other? He would never believe it was queen Elizabeth's day, but that of her perſecuting ſiſter: in ſhort, how eaſily might a windmill be taken for the whore of Babylon, and a puppet-ſhow for a popiſh proceſſion?

But enthuſiaſm is none of his lordſhip's * faculty: I am inclined to believe, he might be melancholy enough, when he writ this Introduction: the deſpair, at his age, of ſeeing a faction reſtored, to which he has ſacrificed ſo great a part of his life: the little ſucceſs he can hope for, in caſe he ſhould reſume thoſe high-church principles, in defence of which he firſt employed his pen: no viſible expectation of removing to Farnham or Lambeth: and laſtly, the misfortune of being hated by every one, who either wears the habit, or values the profeſſion of a clergyman. No wonder ſuch a ſpirit, in ſuch a ſituation, is provoked beyond the regards of truth, decency, religion, or ſelf-conviction. To

* This ſhould be in the plural, faculties;—'But *enthuſiaſm* is none (or not one) of his lordſhip's faculties.'

do him juſtice, he ſeems to have nothing elſe left, but to cry out halters, gibbets, faggots, inquiſition, popery, ſlavery, and the Pretender. But, in the mean time, he little conſiders what a world of miſchief he does to his cauſe. It is very convenient for the preſent deſigns of that faction, to ſpread the opinion of our immediate danger from popery and the Pretender. His directors therefore ought, in my humble opinion, to have employed his lordſhip in publiſhing a book, wherein he ſhould have affirmed by the moſt ſolemn aſſeverations, that all things were ſafe and well; for the world has contracted ſo ſtrong a habit of believing him backwards, that I am confident nine parts in ten of thoſe who have read or heard of his Introduction, have ſlept in greater ſecurity ever ſince. It is like the melancholy tone of a watchman at midnight, who thumps with his pole as if ſome thief were breaking in; but you know by the noiſe, that the door is faſt.

However, he *thanks God there are many among us who ſtand in the breach:* I believe they may; it is a breach of their own making, and they deſign to come forward, and ſtorm and plunder, if they be not driven back. *They make themſelves a wall for their church and country.* A ſouth-wall I ſuppoſe, for all the beſt fruit of the church and country to be nailed on. Let us examine this metaphor. The wall of our church and country, is built of thoſe who love the conſtitution in both: our domeſtic enemies undermine ſome parts of the wall, and place themſelves in the breach, and then they cry,

cry, *we are the wall.* We do not like ſuch patch-work; they build with untempered mortar; nor can they ever cement with us, till they get better materials and better workmen. God keep us from having our breaches made up with ſuch rubbiſh. *They ſtand upon the watch-tower!* they are indeed pragmatical enough to do ſo; but who aſſigned them that poſt, to give us falſe intelligence, to alarm us with falſe dangers, and ſend us to defend one gate, while their accomplices are breaking in at another? *They cry to God day and night to avert the judgment of popery, which ſeems to haſten towards us.* Then I affirm, they are hypocrites by day, and filthy dreamers by night: when they cry unto him, he will not hear them; for they cry againſt the plaineſt dictates of their own conſcience, reaſon, and belief.

But, laſtly, *they lie in the duſt mourning before him.* Hang me if I believe that, unleſs it be figuratively ſpoken. But ſuppoſe it to be true, why do *they lie in the duſt?* Becauſe they love to raiſe it. For what do *they mourn?* Why, for power wealth, and places. There let the enemies of the QUEEN, and monarchy, and the church, lie and mourn, and lick the duſt like ſerpents, till they are truly ſenſible of their ingratitude, falſhood, diſobedience, ſlander, blaſphemy, ſedition, and every evil work.

I cannot find in my heart to conclude, without offering his lordſhip a little humble advice, upon ſome certain points.

Firſt, I would adviſe him, if it be not too late in his life, to endeavour a little at mending his ſtyle, which is mighty defective in the circumſtances of grammar, propriety, politeneſs, and ſmoothneſs. I fancied at firſt it might be owing to the prevalence of his paſſion, as people ſputter out nonſenſe for haſte, when they are in a rage. And indeed I believe this piece before me, has received ſome additional imperfections from that occaſion. But whoever has heard his ſermons, or read his other tracts, will find him very unhappy in the choice and diſpoſition of his words, and for want of variety, repeating them, eſpecially the particles, in a manner very grating to an Engliſh ear. But I confine myſelf to this introduction, as his laſt work, where, endeavouring at rhetorical flowers, he gives us only bunches of thiſtles; of which I could preſent the reader with a plentiful crop; but I refer him to every page and line of the pamphlet itſelf.

Secondly, I would moſt humbly adviſe his lordſhip to examine a little into the nature of truth, and ſometimes to hear what ſhe ſays. I ſhall produce two inſtances among a hundred. When he aſſerts, that we are *now in more danger of popery, than towards the end of king Charles the ſecond's reign*; and gives the broadeſt hints, that the QUEEN, the miniſtry, the parliament, and the clergy, are juſt going to introduce it; I deſire to know whether he really thinks truth is of his ſide, or whether he be not ſure ſhe is againſt him? If the latter, then truth and he will be found in two different ſtories; and which are we to believe?

Again,

Again, when he gravely adviſes the tories not to *light the fires in Smithfield*, and goes on in twenty places, already quoted, as if the bargain was made for popery and ſlavery to enter; I aſk again whether he has rightly conſidered the nature of truth? I deſire to put a parallel caſe. Suppoſe his lordſhip ſhould take it into his fancy to write and publiſh a letter to any gentleman, of no infamous character for his religion or morals; and there adviſe him, with great earneſtneſs, not to rob or fire churches, raviſh his daughter, or murder his father; ſhew him the ſin and the danger of theſe enormities; that if he flattered himſelf he could eſcape in diſguiſe, or bribe his jury, he was grievouſly miſtaken; that he muſt in all probability forfeit his goods and chattels, die an ignominious death, and be curſt by poſterity: would not ſuch a gentleman juſtly think himſelf highly injured, although his lordſhip did not affirm, that the ſaid gentleman had picklocks or combuſtibles ready; that he had attempted his daughter, and drawn his ſword againſt his father in order to ſtab him? whereas, in the other caſe, this writer affirms over and over, that all attempts for introducing popery and ſlavery are already made, the whole buſineſs concerted, and that little leſs than a miracle can prevent our ruin.

Thirdly, I could heartily wiſh his lordſhip would not undertake to charge the opinions of one or two, and thoſe probably nonjurors, upon the whole body of the nation, that differs from him. Mr. Leſly writ a *propoſal for a union with the Gallican church*:

ſomebody elſe has *carried the neceſſity of prieſthood in the point of baptiſm, farther than popery:* a third has *aſſerted the independency of the church on the ſtate, and in many things arraigned the ſupremacy of the crown*; then he ſpeaks in a dubious inſinuating way, as if ſome other popiſh tenets had been already advanced: and at laſt concludes in this affected ſtrain of deſpondency; *What will all theſe things end in? And on what deſign are they driven? Alas, it is too viſible!* it is as clear as the ſun, that theſe authors are encouraged by the miniſtry, with a deſign to bring in popery; and in popery all theſe things will end.

I never was ſo uncharitable as to believe, that the whole party, of which his lordſhip profeſſes himſelf a member, had a real formed deſign of eſtabliſhing atheiſm among us. The reaſon why the whigs have taken the atheiſts or freethinkers into their body, is, becauſe they wholly agree in their political ſchemes, and differ very little in church power and diſcipline. However, I could turn the argument againſt his lordſhip with very great advantage, by quoting paſſages from fifty pamphlets wholly made up of whiggiſm and atheiſm, and then conclude, *what will all theſe things end in? And on what deſign are they driven? Alas, it is too viſible!*

Laſtly, I would beg his lordſhip not to be ſo exceedingly outrageous upon the memory of the dead; becauſe it is highly probable, that in a very ſhort time, he will be one of the number. He has in plain words, given Mr. Wharton the character of a moſt malicious, revengeful, treacherous, lying, mercenary

mercenary villain. To which I ſhall only ſay, that the direct reverſe of this amiable deſcription, is what appears from the works of that moſt learned divine, and from the accounts given me by thoſe, who knew him much better than the biſhop ſeems to have done. I meddle not with the moral part of his treatment. God Almighty forgive his lordſhip this manner of revenging himſelf; and then there will be but little conſequence from an accuſation, which the dead cannot feel, and which none of the living will believe.

A

LETTER

FROM

A MEMBER of the HOUSE of COMMONS in IRELAND,

TO

A MEMBER of the HOUSE of COMMONS in ENGLAND,

CONCERNING THE

SACRAMENTAL TEST.

Written in the Year 1708.

SIR,

I Received your letter, wherein you tell me of the ſtrange repreſentations made of us on your ſide of the water. The inſtance you are pleaſed to mention is that of the preſbyterian miſſionary, who, according to your phraſe, has been lately perecuted at Drogheda for his religion: but it is eaſy to obſerve, how mighty induſtrious ſome people have been for three or four years paſt, to hand about ſtories of the hardſhips, the merits, the number, and the power of the preſbyterians in Ireland; to raiſe formidable ideas of the dangers of popery

there, and to tranſmit all for England, improved by great additions, and with ſpecial care to have them inſerted, with comments, in thoſe infamous weekly papers, that infeſt your coffee-houſes. So, when the clauſe enacting a ſacramental teſt was put in execution, it was given out in England, that half the juſtices of peace, through this kingdom, had laid down their commiſſions: whereas, upon examination, the whole number was found to amount only to a dozen or thirteen, and thoſe generally of the loweſt rate in fortune or underſtanding, and ſome of them ſuperannuated. So, when the earl of Pembroke was in Ireland, and the parliament ſitting, a formal ſtory was very gravely carried to his excellency, by ſome zealous members, of a prieſt newly arrived from abroad to the north-weſt parts of Ireland, who had publicly preached to his people, to fall a murdering the proteſtants; which, though invented to ſerve an end they were then upon, and are ſtill driving at, was preſently handed over, and printed with ſhrewd remarks by your worthy ſcribblers. In like manner, the account of that perſon, who was lately expelled our univerſity for reflecting on the memory of king William: what a duſt it raiſed, and how foully it was related, is freſh enough in memory. Neither would people be convinced, till the univerſity was at the pains of publiſhing a Latin paper to juſtify themſelves. And to mention no more, this ſtory of the perſecution at Drogheda, how it has been ſpread and aggravated, what conſequences have been drawn from it, and what reproaches fixed on

thoſe who have leaſt deſerved them, we are already informed. Now if the end of all this proceeding were a ſecret and myſtery, I ſhould not pretend to give it an interpretation; but ſufficient care has been taken to explain it, firſt, by addreſſes artificially (if not illegally) procured, to ſhew the miſerable ſtate of the diſſenters in Ireland by reaſon of the ſacramental teſt, and to deſire the queen's interceſſion, that it might be repealed. Then, it is manifeſt, that * our ſpeaker, when he was laſt year in England, ſolicited in perſon ſeveral members of both houſes to have it repealed by an act there; though it be a matter purely national, that cannot poſſibly interfere with the trade and intereſt of England; and though he himſelf appeared formerly the moſt zealous of all men, againſt the injuſtice of binding a nation by laws, to which they do not conſent. And, laſtly, thoſe weekly libellers, whenever they get a tale by the end relating to Ireland, without once troubling their thoughts about the truth, always end it with an application againſt the ſacramental teſt, and the abſolute neceſſity there is of repealing it in both kingdoms. I know it may be reckoned a weakneſs to ſay any thing of ſuch trifles, as are below a ſerious man's notice; much leſs would I diſparage the underſtanding of any party, to think they would chooſe the vileſt and moſt ignorant among mankind, to employ them for the aſſertors of a cauſe. I ſhall only ſay, that the ſcan-

* Mr. Allen Broderick, afterwards chancellor of Ireland, and lord Middleton.

dalous

dalous liberty thoſe wretches take, would hardly be allowed, if it were not mingled with opinions that ſome men would be glad to advance. Beſides, how inſipid ſoever thoſe papers are, they ſeem to be levelled to the underſtandings of a great number; they are grown a neceſſary part in coffee-houſe furniture, and ſome time or other may happen to be read by cuſtomers of all ranks, for curioſity and amuſement, becauſe they lie always in the way. One of theſe authors (the fellow that was pilloried, I have * forgot his name) is indeed ſo grave, ſententious, dogmatical a rogue, that there is no enduring him; the † obſervator is much the briſker of the two, and I think farther gone of late in lies and impudence, than his preſbyterian brother. The reaſon why I mention him, is, to have an occaſion of letting you know, that you have not dealt ſo galantly with us, as we did with you in a parallel caſe: laſt year a paper was brought here from England, called *A dialogue between the archbiſhop of Canterbury and Mr. Higgins*, which we ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, as it well deſerved, though we have no more to do with his grace ‡ of Canterbury, than you have with the archbiſhop of Dublin; nor can you love and reverence your prelate, more than we do ours, whom you tamely ſuffer to be abuſed openly, and by name, by that paultry raſcal of an obſervator; and lately upon an affair wherein he had no con-

* Daniel Defoe.
† Mr. John Tutchin.
‡ Dr. Thomas Teniſon.

cern;

cern; I mean the buſineſs of the miſſionary of Drogheda, wherein our excellent primate was engaged, and did nothing but according to law and diſcretion. But becauſe the lord archbiſhop * of Dublin has been upon ſeveral occaſions, of late years, miſrepreſented in England, I would willingly ſet you right in his character. For his great ſufferings and eminent ſervices, he was by the late king promoted to the ſee of Derry. About the ſame time he wrote a book to juſtify the revolution, wherein was an account of king James's proceedings in Ireland; and the late archbiſhop Tillotſon recommended it to the king, as the moſt ſerviceable treatiſe, that could have been publiſhed at ſuch a juncture. And as his grace ſet out upon thoſe principles, he has proceeded ſo ever ſince, as a loyal ſubject to the queen, entirely for the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line, and for ever excluding the Pretender; and though a firm friend to the church, yet with indulgence towards diſſenters, as appears from his conduct at Derry, where he was ſettled for many years among the moſt virulent of the ſect, yet upon his removal to Dublin, they parted from him with tears in their eyes, and univerſal acknowledgments of his wiſdom and goodneſs. For the reſt, it muſt be owned, he does not buſy himſelf by entering deep into any party, but rather ſpends his time in acts of hoſpitality and charity, in building churches, repairing his palace, in introducing and preferring the worthieſt

* Dr. William King.

perſons

perſons he can find, without other regards: in ſhort, in the practice of all virtues, that can become a publick or private life. This and more, if poſſible, is due to ſo excellent a perſon, who may be juſtly reckoned among the greateſt and moſt learned prelates of this age, however his character may be defiled by ſuch mean and dirty hands, as thoſe of the obſervator, or ſuch as employ him.

I now come to anſwer the other part of your letter, and ſhall give you my opinion freely about repealing the ſacramental teſt; only, whereas you deſire my thoughts as a friend, and not as I am a member of parliament, I muſt aſſure you they are exactly the ſame in both capacities.

I muſt begin by telling you, we are generally ſurprized at your wonderful kindneſs to us on this occaſion, in being ſo very induſtrious to teach us to ſee our intereſts in a point, where we are ſo unable to ſee it ourſelves. This has given us ſome ſuſpicion; and though in my own particular I am hugely bent to believe, that whenever you concern yourſelves in our affairs, it is certainly for our good, yet I have the misfortune to be ſomething ſingular in this belief; and therefore I never attempt to juſtify it, but content myſelf to poſſeſs my own opinion in private, for fear of encountering men of more wit or words, than I have to ſpare.

We at this diſtance, who ſee nothing of the ſpring of actions, are forced, by meer conjecture, to aſſign two reaſons for your deſiring us to repeal the ſacramental teſt; one is, becauſe you are ſaid

to

to imagine it will be a ſtep towards the like good work in England. The other more immediate, that it will open a way for rewarding ſeveral perſons, who have well deſerved upon a great occaſion, but who are now unqualified through that impediment.

I do not frequently quote poets, eſpecially Engliſh; but I remember there is in ſome of Mr. Cowley's love verſes a ſtrain, that I thought extraordinary at fifteen, and have often ſince imagined it to be ſpoken by Ireland.

> Forbid it, heaven, my life ſhould be
> Weigh'd with her leaſt conveniency.

In ſhort, whatever advantage you propoſe to yourſelves by repealing the ſacramental teſt, ſpeak it out plainly, it is the beſt argument you can uſe, for we value your intereſt much more than our own; if your little finger be ſore, and you think a poultice made of our vitals will give it any eaſe, ſpeak the word, and it ſhall be done: the intereſt of our whole kingdom, is at any time ready to ſtrike to that of your pooreſt fiſhing towns; it is hard you will not accept our ſervices, unleſs we believe at the ſame time, that you are only conſulting our profit, and giving us marks of your love. If there be a fire at ſome diſtance, and I immediately blow up my houſe before there be occaſion, becauſe you are a man of quality, and apprehend ſome danger to a corner of your ſtable; yet why ſhould you require me to attend next morning at your

your levee, with my humble thanks for the favour you have done me?

If we might be allowed to judge for ourſelves, we had abundance of benefit by the ſacramental teſt, and foreſee a number of miſchiefs would be the conſequence of repealing it; and we conceive the objections made againſt it by the diſſenters, are of no manner of force. They tell us of their merits in the late war in Ireland, and how cheerfully they engaged for the ſafety of the nation; that if they had thought they had been fighting only other people's quarrels, perhaps it might have cooled their zeal; and that for the future they ſhall ſit down quietly, and let us do our work ourſelves; nay, that it is neceſſary they ſhould do ſo, ſince they cannot take up arms under the penalty of high-treaſon.

Now ſuppoſing them to have done their duty, as I believe they did, (and not to trouble them about the fly on the wheel) I thought liberty, property, and religion, had been the three ſubjects of the quarrel; and have not all thoſe been amply ſecured to them? had they at that time a mental reſervation for power and employments? and muſt theſe two articles be added henceforward in our national quarrels? it is grown a mighty conceit among ſome men, to melt down the phraſe of a church eſtabliſhed by law, into that of the religion of the magiſtrate; of which appellation it is eaſier to find the reaſon than the ſenſe: if by the magiſtrate they mean the prince, the expreſſion includes a falſhood; for when king James was prince, the eſtabliſhed

church

church was the ſame it is now. If by the ſame word they mean the legiſlature, we deſire no more. But be that as it will, we of this kingdom believe the church of Ireland to be the national church, and the only one eſtabliſhed by law, and are willing by the ſame law to give a toleration to diſſenters; but if once we repeal our ſacramental teſt, and grant a toleration, or ſuſpend the execution of the penal laws, I do not ſee how we can be ſaid to have any eſtabliſhed church remaining; or rather, why there will not be as many eſtabliſhed churches, as there are ſects of diſſenters. No, ſay they, yours will ſtill be the national church, becauſe your biſhops and clergy are maintained by the publick: but, that I ſuppoſe will be of no long duration, and it would be very unjuſt it ſhould, becauſe, to ſpeak in Tindal's phraſe, it is not reaſonable that revenues ſhould be annexed to one opinion, more than another, when all are equally lawful; and it is the ſame author's maxim, that no free-born ſubject ought to pay for maintaining ſpeculations he does not believe. But why ſhould any man, upon account of opinions he cannot help, be deprived of the opportunity of ſerving his queen and country! their zeal is commendable, and when employments go a begging for want of hands, they ſhall be ſure to have the refuſal, only upon condition they will not pretend to them upon maxims, which equally include atheiſts, turks, jews, infidels, and hereticks; or, which is ſtill more dangerous, even papiſts themſelves: the former you allow, the other you deny; becauſe theſe laſt own

a foreign power, and therefore muſt be ſhut out. But there is no great weight in this; for their religion can ſuit with free ſtates, with limited or abſolute monarchies, as well as a better; and the pope's power in France is but a ſhadow; ſo that, upon this foot, there need be no great danger to the conſtitution, by admitting papiſts to employments. I will help you to enough of them who ſhall be ready to allow the pope as little power here as you pleaſe; and the bare opinion of his being vicar of Chriſt, is but a ſpeculative point, for which no man, it ſeems, ought to be deprived of the capacity of ſerving his country.

But, if you pleaſe, I will tell you the great objection we have againſt repealing this ſame ſacramental teſt. It is, that we are verily perſuaded, the conſequence will be an entire alteration of religion among us, in no great compaſs of years. And pray, obſerve how we reaſon here in Ireland upon this matter.

We obſerve the Scots in our northern parts, to be a brave induſtrious people, extremely devoted to their religion, and full of an undiſturbed affection towards each other. Numbers of that noble nation, invited by the fertilities of the ſoil, are glad to exchange their barren hills of Loquabar, by a voyage of three hours, for our fruitful vales of Down and Antrim, ſo productive of that grain, which, at little trouble and leſs expence, finds diet and lodging for themſelves and their cattle. Theſe people, by their extreme parſimony, wonderful dexterity in dealing, and firm adherence to one-another, ſoon

grow

grow into wealth from the ſmalleſt beginnings, never are rooted out where they once fix, and increaſe daily by new ſupplies: beſides, when they are the ſuperior number in any tract of ground, they are not over patient of mixture; but ſuch, whom they cannot aſſimilate, ſoon find it their intereſt to remove. I have done all in my power, on ſome land of my own, to preſerve two or three Engliſh fellows in their neighbourhood, but found it impoſſible, though one of them thought he had ſufficiently made his court by turning preſbyterian. Add to all this, that they bring along with them from Scotland a moſt formidable notion of our church, which they look upon at leaſt three degrees worſe than popery: and it is natural it ſhould be ſo, ſince they come over full fraught with that ſpirit, which taught them to aboliſh epiſcopacy at home.

Then we proceed farther, and obſerve, that the gentlemen of employments here make a very conſiderable number in the houſe of commons, and have no other merit, but that of doing their duty in their ſeveral ſtations; therefore when the teſt is repealed, it will be highly reaſonable they ſhould give place to thoſe, who have much greater ſervices to plead. The commiſſions of the revenue are ſoon diſpoſed of, and the collectors and other officers throughout this kingdom, are generally appointed by the commiſſioners, which gives them a mighty influence in every county. As much may be ſaid of the great offices in the law; and when this door is open to let diſſenters into the commiſ-

ſions of the peace, to make them high-ſheriffs, mayors of corporations, and officers of the army and militia, I do not ſee how it can be otherwiſe, conſidering their induſtry and our ſupineneſs, but that they may, in a very few years, grow to a majority in the houſe of commons, and conſequently make themſelves the national religion, and have a fair pretence to demand the revenues of the church for their teachers. I know it will be objected, that if all this ſhould happen as I deſcribe, yet the preſbyterian religion could never be made the national by act of parliament, becauſe our biſhops are ſo great a number in the houſe of lords; and without a majority there, the church could not be aboliſhed. But I have two very good expedients for that, which I ſhall leave you to gueſs, and I dare ſwear our ſpeaker here has often thought on, eſpecially having endeavoured at one of them ſo lately. To convince you, that this deſign is not ſo foreign from ſome people's thoughts, I muſt let you know, that an honeſt bell-weather * of our houſe, (you have him now in England, I wiſh you could keep him there) had the impudence ſome years ago, in parliament-time, to ſhake my lord biſhop of Kilaloo † by his lawn-ſleeve, and tell him, in a threatening manner, "that he hoped to live to ſee "the day, when there ſhould not be one of his "order in the kingdom."

* Suppoſed to be Mr. Broderick.

† Dr. Lindſay, afterwards lord primate.

Theſe

Theſe laſt lines perhaps you think a digreſſion; therefore to return: I have told you the conſequences we fully reckon upon, from repealing the ſacramental teſt, which although the greateſt number of ſuch as are for doing it, are actually in no manner of pain about it, and many of them care not three-pence whether there be any church, or not; yet becauſe they pretend to argue from conſcience, as well as policy and intereſt, I thought it proper to underſtand and anſwer them accordingly.

Now, ſir, in anſwer to your queſtion, whether if any attempt ſhould be made here for repealing the ſacramental teſt, it would be likely to ſucceed? the number of profeſſed diſſenters in this parliament was, as I remember, ſomething under a dozen, and I cannot call to mind above thirty others, who were expected to fall in with them. This is certain, that the preſbyterian party, having with great induſtry muſtered up their forces, did endeavour one day, upon occaſion of a hint in my lord Pembroke's ſpeech, to introduce a debate about repealing the teſt clauſe, when there appeared at leaſt four to one odds againſt them; and the ableſt of thoſe, who were reckoned the moſt ſtaunch and thorough-paced whigs upon all other occaſions, fell off with an abhorrence at the firſt mention of this.

I muſt deſire you to take notice, that the terms of whig and tory, do not properly expreſs the different intereſts in our parliament. I remember, when I was laſt in England, I told the king, that the higheſt tories we had with us would make to-

lerable whigs there: this was certainly right, and ſtill in the general continues ſo, unleſs you have ſince admitted new characteriſticks, which did not come within our definition. Whoever bears a true veneration for the glorious memory of king William, as our great deliverer from popery and ſlavery; whoever is firmly loyal to our preſent queen, with an utter abhorrence and deteſtation of the Pretender; whoever approves the ſucceſſion to the crown in the houſe of Hanover, and is for preſerving the doctrine and diſcipline of the church of England, with an indulgence for ſcrupulous conſciences; ſuch a man we think acts upon right principles, and may be juſtly allowed a whig: and I believe there are not ſix members in our houſe of commons, who may not fairly come under this deſcription. So that the parties among us are made up, on one ſide, of moderate whigs, and on the other, of preſbyterians and their abettors; by which laſt I mean ſuch, who can equally go to a church or conventicle, or ſuch who are indifferent to all religion in general; or laſtly, ſuch who affect to bear a perſonal rancour towards the clergy: theſe laſt are a ſet of men not of our own growth, their principles at leaſt have been imported of late years; yet this whole party put together, will ſcarce, I am confident, amount to above fifty men in parliament, which can hardly be worked up into a majority of three hundred.

As to the houſe of lords, the difficulty there, is conceived at leaſt as great as in ours. So many of our temporal peers live in England, that the biſhops

are

are generally pretty near a *par* of the houſe, and we reckon they will be all to a man againſt repealing the teſt; and yet their lordſhips are generally thought as good whigs upon our principles, as any in the kingdom. There are indeed a few laylords, who appear to have no great devotion for epiſcopacy; and perhaps one or two more, with whom certain powerful motives might be uſed, for removing any difficulty whatſoever: but theſe are, in no ſort, a number to carry any point againſt a conjunction of the reſt, and the whole bench of biſhops.

Beſides, the whole body of our clergy is utterly againſt repealing the teſt, though they are entirely devoted to her majeſty, and hardly one in a hundred, who are not very good whigs, in our acceptation of the word. And I muſt let you know, that we of Ireland are not yet come up to other folks refinements, for we generally love and eſteem our clergy, and think they deſerve it; nay, we are apt to lay ſome weight upon their opinion, and would not willingly diſoblige them, at leaſt, unleſs it were upon ſome greater point of intereſt than this. And their judgment in the preſent affair is the more to be regarded, becauſe they are the laſt perſons, who will be affected by it: this makes us think them impartial, and that their concern is only for religion, and the intereſt of the kingdom. Becauſe the act, which repeals the teſt, will only qualify a layman for an employment, but not a preſbyterian or anabaptiſt preacher, for a church-living. Now I muſt take leave to inform you, that

ſeveral members of our houſe, and myſelf among the reſt, knowing ſome time ago what was upon the anvil, went to all the clergy we knew of any diſtinction, and deſired their judgment in the matter; wherein we found a moſt wonderful agreement, there being but one divine that we could hear of in the whole kingdom, who appeared of a contrary ſentiment; wherein he afterwards ſtood alone in the convocation, very little to his credit, though, as he hoped, very much to his intereſt.

I will now conſider a little the arguments offered to ſhew the advantages, or rather the neceſſity of repealing the teſt in Ireland. We are told, the popiſh intereſt is here ſo formidable, that all hands ſhould be joined to keep it under; that the only names of diſtinction among us ought to be thoſe of proteſtant and papiſt; and that this expedient is the only means to unite all proteſtants upon one common bottom. All which is nothing but miſrepreſentation and miſtake.

If we were under any real fear of the papiſts in this kingdom, it would be hard to think us ſo ſtupid, as not to be equally apprehenſive with others, ſince we are likely to be the greateſt, and more immediate ſufferers; but on the contrary, we look upon them to be altogether as inconſiderable, as the women and children. Their lands are almoſt entirely taken from them, and they are rendered incapable of purchaſing any more; and for the little that remains, proviſion is made by the late act againſt popery, that it will daily crumble away: to prevent which, ſome of the moſt conſiderable among them

are already turned proteſtants, and ſo in all probability will many more. Then, the popiſh prieſts are all regiſtered, and without permiſſion (which I hope will not be granted) they can have no ſucceſſors; ſo that the proteſtant clergy will find it perhaps no difficult matter to bring great numbers over to the church; and in the mean time the common people, without leaders, without diſcipline, or natural courage, being little better than hewers of wood, and drawers of water, are out of all capacity of doing any miſchief, if they were ever ſo well inclined. Neither are they at all likely to join, in any conſiderable numbers, with an invader, having found ſo ill ſucceſs when they were much more numerous and powerful; when they had a prince of their own religion to head them, had been trained for ſome years under a popiſh deputy, and received ſuch mighty aids from the French king *.

As to that argument uſed for repealing the teſt, that it will unite all proteſtants againſt the common enemy; I wonder by what figure thoſe gentlemen ſpeak, who are pleaſed to advance it: ſuppoſe, in order to increaſe the friendſhip between you and me, a law ſhould paſs, that I muſt have half your eſtate; do you think that would much advance the union between us? or ſuppoſe I ſhare my fortune equally between my own children and a ſtranger, whom I

* In the reign of king James II. and till after the battle of the Boyne in 1690.

take into my protection; will that be a method to unite them? it is an odd way of uniting parties, to deprive a majority of part of their ancient right, by conferring it on a faction, who had never any right at all, and therefore cannot be ſaid to ſuffer any loſs or injury, if it be refuſed them. Neither is it very clear, how far ſome people may ſtretch the term of common enemy. How many are there of thoſe that call themſelves proteſtants, who look upon our worſhip to be idolatrous, as well as that of the papiſts, and with great charity, put prelacy and popery together, as terms convertible?

And therefore there is one ſmall doubt * I would be willingly ſatisfied in, before I agree to the repealing of the teſt; that is, whether theſe ſame proteſtants, when they have, by their dexterity, made themſelves the national religion, and diſpoſed the church revenues among their paſtors or themſelves, will be ſo kind to allow us diſſenters, I do not ſay a ſhare in employments, but a bare toleration by law? the reaſon of my doubt is, becauſe I have been ſo very idle, as to read above fifty pamphlets, written by as many preſbyterian divines, loudly diſclaiming this idol toleration; ſome of them calling it (I know not how properly) a rag of popery, and all agreeing it was to eſtabliſh iniquity by a law. Now I would be glad to know, when

* The arrangement of theſe words, *I would be willingly ſatisfied in*, occaſions ſuch a hobling as is diſagreeable to the ear; a ſmall change will make the words run ſmoothly, as thus—'I would willingly be ſatisfied in.'

and

and where their ſucceſſors have renounced this doctrine, and before what witneſſes. Becauſe, methinks I ſhould be loth to ſee my poor titular biſhop *in partibus*, ſeized on by miſtake in the dark for a jeſuit; or be forced myſelf to keep a chaplain diſguiſed like my butler, and ſteal to prayers in a back room, as my grandfather uſed in thoſe times, when the church of England was malignant.

But this is ripping up old quarrels long forgot; popery is now the common enemy, againſt which we muſt all unite: I have been tired in hiſtory with the perpetual folly of thoſe ſtates, who call in foreigners to aſſiſt them againſt a common enemy: but the miſchief was, theſe allies would never be brought to allow, that the common enemy was quite ſubdued. And they had reaſon; for it proved at laſt, that one part of the common enemy was thoſe who called them in, and ſo the allies became at length the maſters.

It is agreed among naturaliſts, that a lion is a larger, a ſtronger, and more dangerous enemy than a cat; yet if a man were to have his choice, either a lion at his foot, bound faſt with three or four chains, his teeth drawn out, and his claws pared to the quick, or an angry cat in full liberty at his throat; he would take no long time to determine.

I have been ſometimes admiring the wonderful ſignificancy of that word perſecution, and what various interpretations it has acquired even within my memory. When I was a boy, I often heard the preſbyterians complain, that they were not per-

mitted to ſerve God in their own way; they ſaid they did not repine at our employments, but thought that all men who live peaceably, ought to have liberty of conſcience, and leave to aſſemble. That impediment being removed at the revolution, they ſoon learned to ſwallow the ſacramental teſt, and began to take very large ſteps, wherein all who offered to oppoſe them, were called men of a perſecuting ſpirit. During the time the bill againſt occaſional conformity was on foot, perſecution was every day rung in our ears, and now at laſt the ſacramental teſt itſelf has the ſame name. Where then is this matter likely to end, when the obtaining of one requeſt, is only uſed as a ſtep to demand another? a lover is ever complaining of cruelty, while any thing is denied him; and when the lady ceaſes to be cruel, ſhe is from the next moment at his mercy: ſo perſecution, it ſeems, is every thing, that will not leave it in mens power to perſecute others.

There is one argument offered againſt a ſacramental teſt, by a ſort of men, who are content to be ſtiled of the church of England, who perhaps attend its ſervice in the morning, and go with their wives to a conventicle in the afternoon, confeſſing they hear very good doctrine in both. Theſe men are much offended, that ſo holy an inſtitution, as that of the Lord's ſupper, ſhould be made ſubſervient to ſuch mercenary purpoſes as the getting of an employment. Now it ſeems, the law, concluding all men to be members of that church where they

they receive the ſacrament; and ſuppoſing all men to live like chriſtians, (eſpecially thoſe who are to have employments) did imagine they received the ſacrament in courſe about four times a year; and therefore only deſired it might appear by certificate to the publick, that ſuch, who took an office, were members of the church eſtabliſhed, by doing their ordinary duty. However, leſt we ſhould offend them, we have often deſired they would deal candidly with us: for, if the matter ſtuck only there, we would propoſe it in parliament, that every man, who takes an employment, ſhould, inſtead of receiving the ſacrament, be obliged to ſwear, that he is a member of the church of Ireland by law eſtabliſhed, with epiſcopacy, and ſo forth; and as they do now in Scotland, to be true to the kirk. But when we drive them thus far, they always retire to the main body of the argument, urge the hardſhip that men ſhould be deprived the liberty of ſerving their queen and country, on account of their conſcience; and in ſhort, have recourſe to the common ſtile of their half-brethren. Now whether this be a ſincere way of arguing, I will appeal to any other judgment but theirs.

There is another topick of clamour ſomewhat parallel to the foregoing: it ſeems by the teſt-clauſe, the military officers are obliged to receive the ſacrament, as well as the civil. And it is a matter of ſome patience, to hear the diſſenters declaiming upon this occaſion: they cry they are diſarmed, they are uſed like papiſts: when an enemy appears

at home, or from abroad, they muſt ſit ſtill, and ſee their throats cut, or be hanged for high-treaſon if they offer to defend themſelves. Miſerable condition! woeful dilemma! it is happy for us all, that the Pretender was not appriſed of this paſſive preſbyterian principle, elſe he would have infallibly landed in our northern parts, and found them all ſat down in their formalities, as the Gauls did the Roman ſenators, ready to die with honour in their callings. Sometimes to appeaſe their indignation, we venture to give them hopes, that in ſuch a caſe, the government will perhaps connive, and hardly be ſo ſevere to hang them for defending it, againſt the letter of the law; to which they readily anſwer, that they will not lie at our mercy, but let us fight our battles ourſelves. Sometimes we offer to get an act, by which, upon all popiſh inſurrections at home, or popiſh invaſions from abroad, the government ſhall be impowered to grant commiſſions to all proteſtants whatſoever, without that perſecuting circumſtance of obliging them to ſay their prayers, when they receive the ſacrament: but they abhor all thoughts of occaſional commiſſions; they will not do our drudgery, and we reap the benefit: it is not worth their while to fight *pro aris et focis*; and they * had rather loſe their eſtates, liberties,

* *Had rather*—is a bad ungrammatical phraſe, crept into writing from vulgar ſpeech. It ſhould be always, *would* rather. The word, *rather*, ſtands in the place of—more willingly; and would any one ſay, 'they had more willingly loſe their eſtates?' No certainly, it ſhould be, 'they *would* more willingly, &c.'

religion,

religion, and lives, than the pleaſure of governing.

But to bring this diſcourſe towards a concluſion: if the diſſenters will be ſatisfied with ſuch a toleration by law, as has been granted them in England, I believe the majority of both houſes will fall readily in with it; farther it will be hard to perſuade this houſe of commons, and perhaps much harder the next. For, to ſay the truth, we make a mighty difference here between ſuffering thiſtles to grow among us, and wearing them for poſies. We are fully convinced in our conſciences, that we ſhall always tolerate them; but not quite ſo fully, that they will always tolerate us, when it comes to their return; and we are the majority, and we are in poſſeſſion.

He who argues in defence of a law in force, not antiquated or obſolete, but lately enacted, is certainly on the ſafer ſide, and may be allowed to point out the danger he conceives to foreſee, in the abrogation of it.

For, if the conſequences of repealing this clauſe ſhould at ſome time or other enable the preſbyterians to work themſelves up into the national church; inſtead of uniting proteſtants, it would ſow eternal diviſions among them. Firſt, their own ſects, which now lie dormant, would be ſoon at cuffs again with each other about power and preferment; and the diſſenting epiſcopals, perhaps diſcontented to ſuch a degree, as upo n ſome fair unhappy occaſion, would be able to ſhake the firmeſt

firmeſt loyalty, which none can deny theirs to be.

Neither is it very difficult to conjecture, from ſome late proceedings, at what a rate this faction is likely to drive, wherever it gets the whip and the ſeat. They have already ſet up courts of ſpiritual judicature in open contempt of the laws: they ſend miſſionaries every where, without being invited, in order to convert the church of England folks to chriſtianity. They are as vigilant as I know who, to attend perſons on their death-beds, and for purpoſes much alike. And what practices ſuch principles as theſe (with many other that might be invidious to mention) may ſpawn, when they are laid out to the ſun, you may determine at leiſure.

Laſtly, Whether we are ſo entirely ſure of their loyalty upon the preſent foot of government, as you may imagine, their detractors make a queſtion, which however does, I think, by no means affect the body of diſſenters; but the inſtance produced is, of ſome among their leading teachers in the north, who having refuſed the abjuration oath, yet continue their preaching, and have abundance of followers. The particulars are out of my head; but the fact is notorious enough, and I believe has been publiſhed; I think it a pity, it has not been remedied.

Thus I have fairly given you, ſir, my own opinion, as well as that of a great majority in both houſes here, relating to this weighty affair; upon which

which I am confident you may ſecurely reckon. I will leave you to make what uſe of it you pleaſe.

I am, with great reſpect,

Dublin, Dec. 4. 1708.

SIR,

Yours, &c.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM